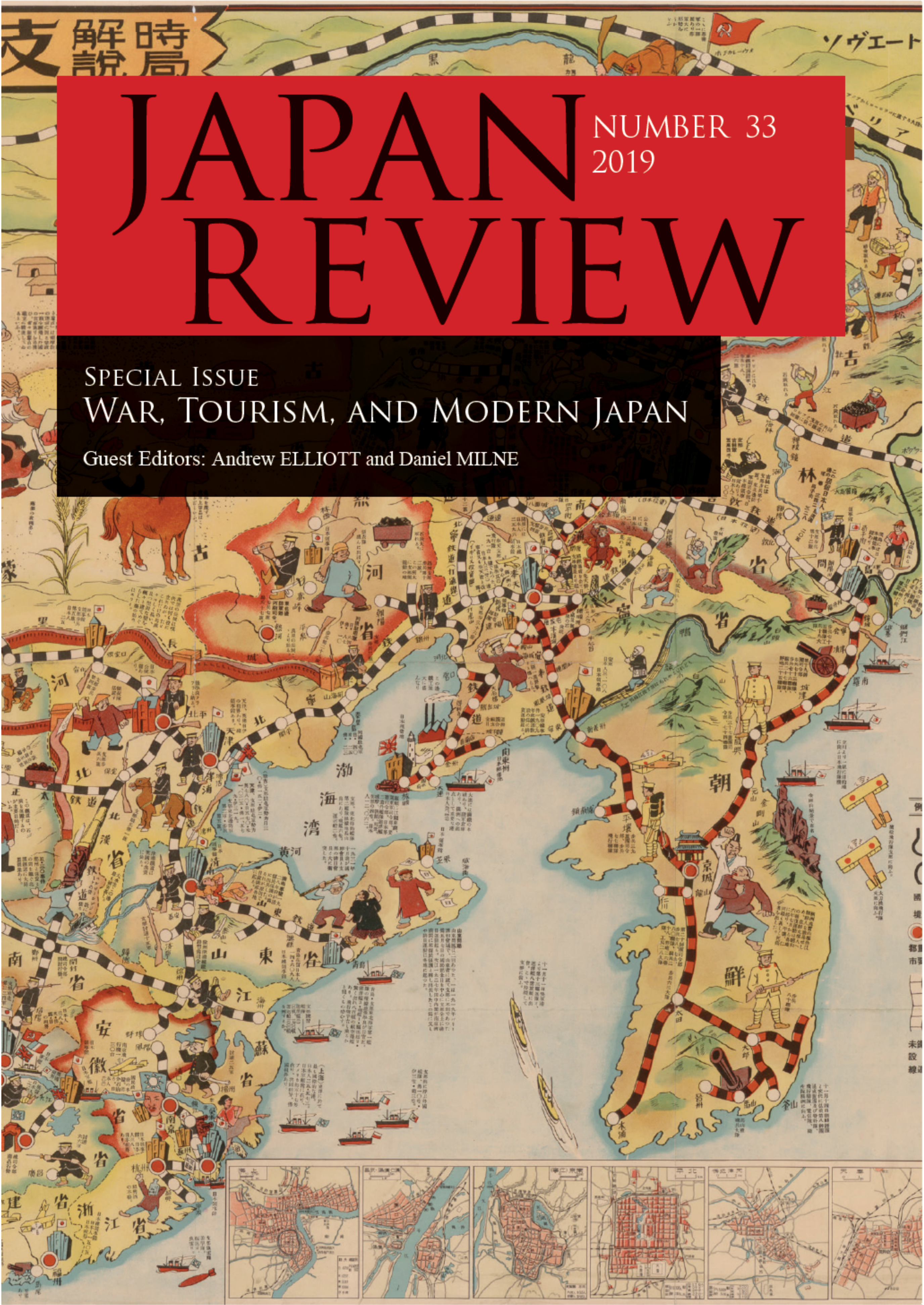

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WAR, TOURISM, AND MODERN JAPAN

Guest Editors: Andrew ELLIOTT and Daniel MILNE

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Introduction
War, Tourism, and Modern Japan

Andrew ELLIOTT and Daniel MILNE

In 1982, the Japan Travel Bureau (Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha 日本交通公社, now JTB) celebrated its seventieth anniversary with a publication detailing the company's history, and the history of modern tourism in Japan, from the early twentieth century.[1] For its frontispiece, the book reproduced a full-color print of "Travel Customs" (Tabi no fūzoku 旅の風俗) by illustrator Nishijima Takeo 西島武郎 taken from the cover of that year's JTB calendar. The image offers a visual synopsis of the course of modern tourism in Japan, which takes up most of the page, and its prehistory, using an illustration of Japanese travelers (and, occasionally, foreign travelers in Japan) on the move, snaking in a long line from the top of the page (Nara-period travelers) to the bottom (present-day travelers). Half-way down, the three figures marking the period 1937–1945 stand out as the only obvious signs of war in the entire chronology: a woman on the home-front dressed in *monpe* もんぺ trousers and an air-raid hood (*bōkūzukin* 防空頭巾); and two soldiers in the khaki uniforms and wrapped leggings of the Imperial Japanese Army. While the illustration implies that Japan's wars can be delimited to this short period in the mid-twentieth century, and that war(-related) tourism has no place in the ostensible peacetimes that precede and succeed them, the image nevertheless offers a rare acknowledgment that tourism can and does take place during wartime.

When we embarked on this project, with a panel entitled "Touring Discourses of the Pacific War: Memories, Records, and Practice in Japan" at the 2014 Asian Studies Conference Japan (ASCJ), it seemed all but *de rigueur* to begin any academic discussion of war and tourism with a statement regarding their putative incompatibility.[2] Just the year before the conference, in an edited book, *Tourism and War*, Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul had begun by noting how "tourism is generally regarded as a phenomenon that needs peace in order to flourish." Tourism—connected in the popular imagination with leisure and recreation—is seen as a distinctly peacetime practice, and war its negation. Building on the limited previous studies about the topic, Butler and Suntikul positioned

1 Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha Shashi Hensan Shitsu 1982.

2 Three of the four participants in that panel (Andrea de Antoni, Andrew Elliott, and Daniel Milne) are represented in this special issue. Professor Yamaguchi Makoto 山口誠 of Dokkyo University, who gave an excellent paper about *tokkō* 特攻 ("kamikaze") memory and postwar tourism, was unable to participate in this publication, but his contributions both to the panel and to the inception of this project are very much appreciated.

their volume as an intervention, challenging the "simplistic idea that war and tourism are always in opposition."[3]

This special issue of *Japan Review* focuses on the shifting and diverse entanglements of war/tourism, and explores them in terms of wartime and war-related tourism in modern Japan, from the 1880s to the present. In particular, it picks up three key themes: 1. Tourism as a modern "disciplinary tool" par excellence, allowing observation, producing knowledge, and encouraging the internalization and embodiment of social norms; 2. State involvement in tourism, as public diplomacy designed to promote soft power overseas, and as a means to pursue national policy domestically and across the empire; and 3. War memory and its (re-)shaping through tourism practices and representations, including the touristification of war-related sites.

We start from the assumption that previous scholarship has now sufficiently advanced the fundamental case for a relationship between war and tourism. This has rendered all but unnecessary the kind of opening statements regarding peace/tourism and war/non-tourism (dis)connections that were previously so common. As implied by the home-front traveler and soldier-tourists who look out at us from the frontispiece of JTB's corporate history, it is clear that the links between war and tourism can directly be traced. Thus, rather than approaching war as an abstract or universal phenomenon, we give examples and case studies of war as a specific event(s), and thereby provide a diachronic exploration of war and tourism in modern Japan. In so doing, we seek to overcome the methodological shortcoming found in much previous literature, which typically uses the end of World War II as a point at which to conclude or commence a study, to reveal the interrelated nature of war, empire, and tourism across the 1945 divide. We show the almost continuous presence of tourism in some form since the Meiji period, through putative "peacetimes" and "wartimes"; we also emphasize the productive nature of militarism, as opposed to its more commonly highlighted repressive aspects. Military policy and infrastructure, wartime mobilization and propaganda, battles and battlefields, postwar reconstruction and reconciliation, memories and memorials of war, military marketing, war-related media: in Japan over the last 150 years, these and other examples of the many workings of militarism, its effects, and its counter forces have produced, and in cases have been produced by, touristic performances, practices, representations, perspectives, and policy.

The purpose of this introduction is to map out some of the features of this special issue's historical and theoretical terrain. First, we define our key terms—tourism and war—before summarizing the multiple connections that have been drawn between them in scholarship preceding and succeeding Butler and Suntikul's edited volume. Then in more detail, we review previous literature on war, tourism, and Japan through a survey of war and militarism in modern Japan. Finally, we introduce each of the papers and their main arguments.

3 Butler and Suntikul 2013, pp. 1–3. Important studies of war/tourism, or related topics such as thana- or dark tourism that precede this include Endy 2004; Fyall, Prideaux, and Timothy 2006; Holguin 2005; Laderman 2009; Lennon and Foley 2000; Ryan 2007; Seaton 1999; Smith 1998; Weaver 2011; Winter 2009.

War and Tourism: Definitions and Previous Research

Tourism

Tourism, as John Urry and Jonas Larson define it from a sociological perspective, is a leisure activity that involves a temporary "departure," physical or metaphorical but typically both, from one's everyday surroundings and practices. It commonly involves movement through space to a new place or places, and a period of stay there. Tourism, in this sense, is a distinctly modern practice, partly because of its dependence on mass media, communication, and transport technologies that allow large numbers of people to be mobilized in this way, but more fundamentally because the emergence of tourism presupposes "its opposite, namely regulated and organized work." Tourism, Urry and Larson continue, "is one manifestation of how work and leisure are organized as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in 'modern' societies [.... It] is bound up with major transformations in paid work [... and] has come to be organized within particular places and to occur for regularized periods of time."[4]

In Japan, *kankō* 観光 and *tsūrizumu* ツーリズム are two common terms used to refer to these leisure activities and the industry that concomitantly developed from the late nineteenth century. Yet, within tourism studies and related fields, these terms are frequently contested.[5] *Kankō* is said to have been derived from the *I Ching* 易経 (The Book of Changes) to mean "Look at the light=glory of the kingdom."[6] It emerged with the beginning of modern tourism in Japan, appearing in the late Edo and Meiji periods, during which—in reflection of the early links between tourism and war in modern Japan—it became the name of Japan's first steam-powered warship (*Kankō Maru* 観光丸). One of the earliest records of its usage in relation to touristic practices was in 1897, in the wake of the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), when thirteen indigenous leaders were brought from Taiwan on the first of a series of colonial tours of the metropole referred to as *naichi kankō* 内地観光.[7] The term enjoyed widespread usage in the Taishō (1912–1926) and early Shōwa periods (1926–1989), where it was commonly used, along with other neologisms like *tsūrisuto* ツーリスト (from the English word "tourist"), to signify "pleasure tourism" and "sightseeing"—as seen in the names of official agencies such as the Japan Tourist Bureau (Japan Tsūrisuto Byūrō ジャパン ツーリスト ビューロー, established in 1912) and the Board of Tourist Industry (Kokusai Kankō Kyoku 国際観光局, established in 1930).[8]

Kankō is still a common term in Japan today, including in academia. However, in order to better fit international definitions, as well as bypass the complicated etymology of *kankō*, including its colonial associations as a "civilizing function [... as] duty to a sovereign," many

4 Urry and Larson 2011, p. 4. Another commonly utilized definition of tourism, especially in quantitative tourism research, is that provided by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO); see UNWTO 2008.

5 Morikoshi 2014; Satake 2010.

6 Sand 2014. See also Seaton in this special issue.

7 McDonald 2017; Sand 2014.

8 Ruoff 2010, p. 191, note 13; Ueda 2008. See Soyama in this special issue for a discussion of the similarities, and different nuances, of *kankō* and *tsūrizumu*. *Ryokō* 旅行, typically translated in English as "travel," is another neologism that appeared in the Meiji period to refer to the new forms and practices of mobility that emerged with industrialization and modernization; see Guichard-Anguis 2008. For a discussion of "travel" versus "tourism" debates in the modern Anglophone world, see Buzard 1993. Bimonte (2015) defines "pleasure tourism" as the pursuit of "feeling[s] of happiness, satisfaction, or enjoyment" through travel. "Sightseeing" refers to a form of tourism founded on vision rather than other senses; see Urry and Larsen 2011.

scholars state a preference for the term *tsūrizumu* or the romanized "tourism."[9] As will be seen, contributors to this special issue, and the contemporary sources they draw on, use both expressions; where necessary, English translations note the original term.

War and Tourism

A basic definition of modern war is armed conflict between states, ethnic and religious groups, ideological movements, terrorist organizations, and other non-state actors. It is with war's absence, "commonly referred to as peace," that tourism has been closely associated, especially in post-1945 discourses of international society.[10] As put by Taleb Rifai, the president of the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), in 2012, "Tourism is not only an important economic activity, it [is] also about the millions of conversations and interactions that take place every day as visitors and host communities come together. And it is because tourism means exchanging ideas and beliefs that it can be one of the most effective tools to promote mutual understanding, tolerance and peace."[11]

There are obvious, fundamental problems with the familiar categorizations of "peacetime" and "wartime," which arise because of the terminology we fall back on, Eurocentrism and other forms of perspectivism, and gaps in historical consciousness. Even during periods of putative "peacetime," such as the "interwar" years between World War I and World War II or the "postwar" after World War II, armed conflict was an ever-present feature of the global geopolitical environment.[12] In the case of modern Japan, commonplace understandings of "wartime" (*senji* 戦時) tend to foreground the Pacific War (1941–1945) or Asia-Pacific War (1937–1945) at the expense of all previous armed conflicts, including civil war, other conflicts in which the Japanese military was engaged outside, and wars and other military operations that various Japanese governments have supported in the years after 1945. In delimiting modern war to relatively short periods of time, such categorizations have obscured the continuance of tourism during war and, in turn, the close relationship that tourism has enjoyed with war and militarism more generally.

The myriad, complex entanglements of war and tourism have been increasingly well documented in the last two decades.[13] Taken as a whole, research has revealed how war has often worked as a trigger for, or played a role in the development of, tourism; or on the other hand, how tourism has been used as a means to seize territory, which has then led to war, and as a propaganda tool to justify war and colonial expansion.[14] Tourism has helped establish peaceful postwar relations, and highlighted a community's plight under

9 Sand 2014; Satake 2010.

10 Timothy 2013, p. 13

11 UNWTO 2012.

12 One example of war's prevalence through the twentieth century comes from an article in the British newspaper, *The Guardian*, which points out that from 1914 "British soldiers, sailors and air crews [have been continuously] engaged in fighting somewhere" in the world; see MacAskill and Cobain 2014.

13 A particularly comprehensive study is Lisle (2016), which builds on, and extends, Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez's earlier work on the roles that tourism and militarism have played in the expansion of U.S. power in the Pacific; see Gonzalez 2013. Furthermore, the 2016 *American Quarterly* special on the relationship between tourism and militarism in regard to the USA has greatly enriched the field by bringing together a range of articles by leading researchers; see Gonzalez, Lipman, and Teaiwa 2016.

14 Baranowski et al. 2015; Demay 2014; Gonzalez 2013; Holguin 2005; Laderman 2009; Hom 2012; Semmens 2005; Slade 2003.

military occupation.[15] While tourist sites and infrastructures are sometimes targeted by combatants, case studies have shown that tourism does not end; rather, these tourists are typically redirected to new places, which leads to new destinations emerging.[16] Conversely, a conquering army may bring tourists as well as soldiers; R&R stops become popular tourist spots for sex and other forms of tourism; and since at least the Napoleonic Wars, there has been explicit travel to war zones, for sightseeing or other kinds of witness.[17] Tourism infrastructures, including trains, ships, and hotels, have aided wartime mobilization—and vice-versa, as when technologies developed by the military are utilized in tourism, while touristic ways of seeing and representing often overlap with the militaristic gaze, one supporting the other.[18] After the fighting has stopped, tours head to sites of battles and atrocities, the routes of forced marches and resupply.[19] War cemeteries, museums, and commemoration sites become popular places to visit for a range of purposes including the touristic, and these often become a center for the production and circulation of—and sometimes conflict between—regional, national, and transnational memories of war.[20]

This body of work has approached tourism/war entanglements from a range of methodological and theoretical positions, but some patterns are evident. As can be seen, the shaping of war memory through tourism is a recurring theme. Dark tourism, or the similar concept of thanotourism—both of which refer to tourism at sites connected with death and suffering—is another common frame of reference used to understand war-related sites and tourist motivations.[21] Many studies, especially those from a tourism management studies perspective, focus on the effects of conflict on tourist numbers, or the practical aspects of developing war-related or war-affected sites for future tourism.[22] Others, especially by scholars working in fields such as new imperial history, cultural studies, international relations, or postcolonial studies, have approached wartime or war-related tourism in terms of propaganda or cultural diplomacy, imperial expansion and (neo-) colonial discourse, terrorism, and international political relations.[23] Lastly, there has been a tendency in English-language scholarship at least to choose case studies connected to the USA and Britain and, to a lesser degree, World War II and its effects.[24]

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15 Endy 2004; Hazbun 2008, especially chapter 4; Isaac, Hall, and Higgins-Desbiolles 2015; Kelly 2016; Kim and Prideaux 2003.

16 Most famously, this can be seen in the development of domestic tourism in Great Britain when continental tourist routes were cut off during the Napoleonic Wars; see Towner 2013. See also Gordon 1998; Koshar 2000; Lisle 2016, chapter 5; Urry and Larsen 2011.

17 Buchanan 2016; Ginoza 2016; Gonzalez 2013; Gordon 1998; Lisle 2016, chapter 3; O'Dwyer 2004; Ryan 2007; Seaton 1999; Suntikul 2013; Zwigenberg 2016.

18 Endy 2004; Gonzalez 2013; Lisle 2016; O'Dwyer 2004; Teaiwa 1999; Weaver 2011.

19 Gonzalez 2013; Koshar 2000; Lennon 2017; Ryan 2007; Sion 2014.

20 Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 2000; Gonzalez 2013; Laderman 2009; Seaton 1999; Slade 2003; Winter 2009.

21 See, for example, Seaton 1999; Sharpley and Stone 2009; Sion 2014. See chapters in Sharpley and Stone especially for a range of views on the merits, shortcomings, and alternatives to the concept of dark tourism. See De Antoni and Seaton in this special issue for a fuller discussion of dark tourism's approaches to war-related sites.

22 See, for example, Agrusa, Tanner, and Dupuis 2006; Corak, Mikacic, and Ateljevic 2013; Lee 2006; Ryan 2007.

23 See especially, Gonzalez 2013; Holguin 2005; Lisle 2016; Hom 2012.

24 See, for example, Endy 2004; Gonzalez 2013; Gonzalez, Lipman, and Teaiwa 2016; Lisle 2016; Seaton 1999; Smith 1998.

War and Tourism in Modern Japan

During a similar period, scholars working in a range of disciplines on the study of modern Japan have also contributed groundbreaking research on war and tourism. These reveal the continuities, and discontinues, of the Japan case with other national and transnational trends, and have helped develop more nuanced understandings of the specific, and shifting, ways in which tourism and war relate more generally. In the following section, we attempt a historical overview of war and modern Japan in parallel with relevant war/tourism-related research. We hope that this survey of previous literature and its key themes and conclusions will also provide a gateway to this special issue for general readers and academics who are not Japan specialists.

Bakumatsu

Histories of modern Japan typically begin with the bakumatsu period (1853–1868). This was a time of political unrest and civil war that began with the arrival of the U.S. diplomatic mission led by Commodore Matthew Perry and his fleet of steam-powered warships, and ended with the collapse of the Tokugawa shogunate, the de facto authority for more than 250 years. This period of both internal and external warfare (for example, the 1863 Anglo-Satsuma War) ended at the battle of Hakodate 箱館, the final conflict of the Boshin War 戊辰戦争 (1868–1869) between the Tokugawa shogunate army and the newly-formed Imperial Army. The bakumatsu period also saw modern inbound tourism begin in the wake of Perry's arrival, as the signing with the United States of the Kanagawa Treaty in 1854 then the Harris Treaty in 1858 led to the opening of five port towns for foreign residence and trade. At first, foreign travelers were limited in where they could go and what they could do outside the treaty ports; but restrictions on "interior travel" (*naichi ryokō* 内地旅行) were eased during the 1860s and 1870s, and ended when the revised treaties came into force in 1899.[25]

Despite battles, battle sites, and related figures from the bakumatsu and Boshin War playing a significant role in tourist sites/sights and routes of many regions across Japan—including Yamaguchi, Kochi, Kyoto, Fukushima, and Hokkaido—the period is comparatively under-researched in terms of war and tourism. Two studies from 2015, however, do explore tourism and bakumatsu war memories, in the early twentieth century and more recently. The first shows how narratives of Commodore Perry were utilized in the tourism marketing of Shimoda—one of the first ports opened to U.S. ships—in varying ways across the twentieth century, including as a symbol of U.S.–Japan friendship in the build-up to the Pacific War.[26] Second, Shirakawa Tetsuo 白川哲夫 reveals the transition that has occurred in exhibitions at Kyoto's Ryozen Museum of History 霊山歴史館, from memorializing the wars of bakumatsu to focusing on celebrities of the period such as Sakamoto Ryōma 坂本龍馬.[27] As temporal distance from the time of conflict increases, tourism plays its part in signifying processes whereby the meaning of a war is reshaped in response to changing sociopolitical contexts, including (as in this case) new consumer desires.

25 See Elliott 2012.
26 Sensui 2015.
27 Shirakawa 2015, chapter 7.

Meiji Period

In the early Meiji period (1868–1912), there was fierce debate among members of the new government about the future of the military. Eventually, however, factions that advocated universal conscription, dissolving the samurai class, and further westernizing the military prevailed. The new conscript army established in 1873 was put into action, first overseas, in a military expedition to Taiwan in 1874, then domestically in 1877, against the Satsuma Rebellion of disaffected samurai led by Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛.

The biggest test for the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy came in two wars fought primarily for influence over Korea. Japan had used gunboat diplomacy to force a treaty on Korea in 1876, but it was victory over the Qing Empire in the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and then the Russian Empire in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) that transformed geopolitical dynamics in the region and beyond. These victories resulted in the territorial gains of Taiwan, Karafuto 樺太 (southern Sakhalin), and two ports and a railway line in southern Manchuria, the origin of the South Manchuria Railway. They led also to Korea becoming, in 1905, a Japanese protectorate, before being annexed under treaty in 1910. Military conquests, as well as inter-imperial cooperation in China (for example, the multinational military force in which Japan participated in the Boxer War (1900–1901)) were given as proof, domestically and internationally, that Japan was now, or would soon be, a "great power."

Tourism played a key role in cementing imperial Japan's control over its expanding empire. Tours of the metropole were used to impress colonial subjects with Japan's military superiority and modernization—not always successfully, as Jordan Sand and Kate McDonald note—and produce identification with the empire.[28] Conversely, "observation tours" (*shisatsu dan* 視察団) by Japanese, many on school trips (*shūgaku ryokō* 修学旅行), to battle sites and newly-nationalized heritage sites in Taiwan and new territories on the continent, aimed to shape travelers into patriotic citizens with affective ties to these battles and the lands they were fought on.[29] Travelers were transported around the empire on new routes using new technologies, many of which were put to touristic, trade, and military uses, as Soyama Takeshi 曽山毅 has shown in relationship to the development of rail lines and services in colonial Taiwan.[30] Tourism-related mass media had an important role as well, attracting tourists and framing sites in ways that often occluded the violence of conquest and naturalized colonial relations. Visitors may not always have read places as intended but, as Hyung Il Pai has explored for colonial Korea, postcards and other tourism texts tended to justify territorial claims by constructing a shared cultural heritage between Japan and Korea, and foregrounding examples of the purported success of Japan's "civilizing mission."[31]

Domestically, tourism also played a key role in the spread of an emperor-centered nationalism that was an important ideological justification for military expansionism. As Takagi Hiroshi 高木博志 has demonstrated, new sites of national heritage were produced, including imperial burial mounds (*tennōryo kofun* 天皇陵古墳), signs of a putatively-unbroken imperial line (*bansei ikkei* 万世一系), and Kyoto and Nara as old imperial capitals

28 McDonald 2017, p. 47; Sand 2014.
29 McDonald 2017; Soyama 2013.
30 Soyama 2003. Also, on telecommunication technology and the empire, see Yang 2011.
31 Pai 2010; Pai 2013.

(*koto* 古都), repositories of a unique national culture.[32] Imperial-focused expositions helped shape these narratives, and tourism to these expositions fueled—and was fed by—the emergence of powerful affective ties to the nation in the first Sino-Japanese War.[33]

War led to the diffusion of new national symbols such as the *somei yoshino* 染井吉野 variety of cherry tree, that was spread through commemoration of the Russo-Japanese War and later became an icon of Japan in domestic and international tourism marketing.[34] This war also generated increased opportunities for the performance of touristic identities. As Naoko Shimazu shows, both Japanese soldiers and Russian prisoners of war in Matsuyama adopted, or were encouraged to adopt, touristic identities. Writing about the first group, she suggests that, because few had traveled outside of their home region before, the "mobilization to the front was a sort of 'Grand Tour' for many conscripts, turning their war diaries into travel writing."[35]

World War I to the Asia-Pacific War

Japan's support for the Triple Entente in World War I brought with it further territorial gains on the continent, of German railways and military bases on China's Shandong Peninsula. When revolution brought the collapse of the Russian Empire in the final years of the war, Japan became the largest and—by two years—longest military contingent in the Siberian Intervention, a failed attempt to protect Allied stockpiles and support anti-Bolshevik troops in far eastern Russia. The length of this campaign, not to mention its economic and human costs, prompted antiwar opposition in Japan. In 1922, Japan, Britain, and the United States agreed to curb naval competition and expenditure by restricting their warship capacity. This was followed by several years of relative constraint that ended when Japanese troops were sent to northeast China (Shandong) in the late 1920s to protect and expand national interests.

The beginning of war in Asia is commonly given as 1931, with the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident and subsequent invasion of Manchuria, or 1937, with the outbreak of full-scale war between China and Japan following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. Four years later, with simultaneous attacks on the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor, the U.S.-controlled Philippines, and the British-controlled Malaya Peninsula, the Pacific War began. Among several different names that exist for this series of interlinked conflicts, this volume follows current academic convention in using the term "Asia-Pacific War."[36]

Recent research by historians of modern Japan and empire challenges the "dark valley" perspective of the war years as a time of extreme deprivation and suffering. It reveals how tourism and other leisure practices not only continued until relatively late in the Asia-Pacific War, but were given a crucial role to play in imperial expansionism carried out through military means and, particularly from 1937, the war effort on both home and battle front.

32 Takagi 2006; Takagi 2010; Takagi and Imao 2017.

33 Takagi 2006. Alice Y. Tseng's recent book on Kyoto also touches on the importance of such expositions for the modern development of Kyoto (Tseng 2018).

34 Takagi 2006, appendix (*horon* 補論). Further, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney shows how the symbol of the cherry tree was manipulated before and during World War II, especially to beautify and justify the *tokkō* (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002).

35 Shimazu 2009, p. 71.

36 See Seaton 2007.

"Until the war situation deteriorated precipitously in mid-1942," Ken Ruoff writes, "tourism thrived under Japan's authoritarian government because it often served, or at least could be justified as serving, official goals."[37] As with tourism in an earlier stage of territorial acquisition, tourist posters, postcards, and travel-related magazines directed at Japanese and colonial subjects supported official narratives of colonial Manchuria and north China's "development" into a homeland for Japanese.[38] National heritage tourism, which Takagi has explored in its Meiji-period emergence, played an increasingly important role, both in colonial territories and Japan, as a form of self-administered citizenship training that, even during wartime, could harness active, individual desires for leisure and consumption to national goals.[39]

Wartime tourism was also used as a tool for cultural diplomacy. Foreign visitors—especially Chinese, British, and American—had been coming to Japan in increasing numbers ever since the early Meiji period, which coincided with the opening of the Suez Canal, the American transcontinental railroad, and the launch of transpacific steamship services. Initially the government played little role in developing the industry, but from the early 1910s it began to invest in tourism services and marketing. In the 1920s, state interest in international tourism had focused on the need to bring in foreign capital and offset trade deficits, as well as promote goodwill between nations. However, into the 1930s, tourism marketing, tours of Japan and empire, and tourism infrastructure were increasingly understood by many in government as an effective means of mitigating international criticism of expansionism.[40] As Sandra Collins shows in her study of the planned 1940 Tokyo Olympics, not all agreed with these soft power efforts: there was tension and conflict between those in government who saw such mega events as an opportunity to attract inbound tourists and in the process "rebrand" Japan, and those who feared foreign boycotts and prioritized attention to the war in China.[41]

Occupation

When the war came to an end in August 1945, with the surrender of Japan following the fire-bombing of Tokyo and other urban Japanese centers, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the Soviet invasion of Manchuria, over 20 million Chinese, 3 million Japanese, 3 million in the Dutch East Indies, and 400,000 American soldiers and civilians had been killed.[42]

The Allied Occupation of mainland Japan (1945–1952) and Okinawa (1945–1972) that followed surrender was initially carried out by a multinational force under U.S. command. Along with wide-scale disarmament and demilitarization, Article 9 of the new constitution that was enacted in 1947 renounced war and banned the maintenance of armed forces. However, rapid developments in the Cold War, especially the outbreak of the Korean

37 Ruoff 2010, p. 7.
38 Fukuma 2009.
39 Leheny 2000; McDonald 2017; Ruoff 2010; Ruoff 2014.
40 Kushner 2006; Leheny 2000; Nakamura 2007; Takagi 1999; Yamamoto 2012.
41 Collins 2007.
42 These casualty figures, and data for other nationalities, are given online by the National WWII Museum, New Orleans. These are estimates for World War II as a whole and totals differ greatly depending on the source.

War, prompted a realignment of Japan as a key ally of the United States, and encouraged steps towards remilitarization.

Tourism evolved and adapted to fit these transformed political realities. Soon after arrival, Occupation soldiers photographed and collected souvenirs, including A-bomb memorials, in places they were posted or visited on leave.[43] In obvious ways, such touristic practices and the encounters they generated helped underpin the privileges of the Occupation forces, but as Robin Gerster argues, they also played an important role in building sympathy and friendships that provided a foundation for postwar relations.[44] At the same time, Naoko Shibusawa's examination of the role of tourism and tourist discourse in the reconfiguration of U.S.–Japan relations from "enemy" to "ally" during and following the Allied Occupation reminds us that, at a national level at least, new relationships often continued to enact an uneven politics.[45]

New tourist sites also emerged in the Occupation period. Some of these were war-related, as Ran Zwigenberg has shown in terms of the touristification of atomic bomb-related sites in Hiroshima, and the agency for this came from both Occupation forces, who were the first visitors, and local citizens, some of whom sought profit from Occupation tourism.[46] Other new or renewed sites of tourism, while not obviously war-related, reveal the effects of a continuing military presence in their process of touristification, a subject Gerald Figal explores in the development of Okinawa as a "tropical paradise."[47] These studies, and debates at the time, show how tourism often works to sanitize war memory, occluding past (and present) military violence.

Postwar and the Present

Since the end of the Asia-Pacific War, Japan has been at peace. Anti-war sentiment is strong, there is no official army, and alone among modern states military aggression has been constitutionally renounced. On the Global Peace Index (GPI), which since 2007 has been ranking 163 independent countries on their level of peacefulness, Japan ranks consistently among the top ten most peaceful states in the world.[48]

It is important to acknowledge at the same time, however, that Japan has played a key role as a site of frontline bases for the U.S. military in the Cold War and beyond, and since 1954 has maintained the Japan Ground, Maritime, and Air Self-Defense Forces (collectively called Jieitai 自衛隊, JSDF or SDF). U.S. bases have been overly concentrated in Okinawa, and despite a long history of local (and national) opposition they still cover almost one-fifth of Okinawa island and make up three-quarters of the total U.S. forces in Japan. Bases in Okinawa and elsewhere in Japan have been used as mission launching sites for conflicts involving the U.S. in Korea (1950s), Vietnam (1960s and 1970s), Kuwait/Iraq (1990s), and Afghanistan and Iraq (2000s). The SDF developed out of a controversial interpretation of the Constitution, which argued that Article 9 allowed for a militarized self-defense force.

43 Gerster 2015a; Gerster 2015b; Zwigenberg 2016.
44 Gerster 2008; Gerster 2015a.
45 Shibusawa 2010.
46 Zwigenberg 2016.
47 Figal 2012.
48 In 2008, Japan was in third place, but since 2014 has seen a slight decline. In 2018, Japan was ranked the ninth most-peaceful country in the world. See Vision of Humanity 2018.

Since the 1990s, it has been deployed in UN peacekeeping operations overseas, but in a non-combat capacity. However, in 2015, the Abe Shinzō 安倍晋三 government enacted new legislation that allows, for the first time since 1945, combat troops to be posted overseas for purposes of "collective self-defense" (*shūdanteki jiei* 集団的自衛).

There is a tendency for research about modern Japan to cast its eye on one side or the other of a dividing line drawn through 1945. While important exceptions exist, this is also the case with war/tourism scholarship.[49] Especially in older or popular accounts of the postwar, the symbolic return of Japan to international society marked by the 1964 Tokyo Olympics is presented as the moment when tourism restarted after its long wartime hiatus. Tourism, as previous sections have shown, did not end until late in the war, nor was tourism unknown during the Occupation. But it is true that a general ban had been placed on outbound travel of mainland Japanese by Occupation authorities, in order to prevent an outflow of currency, and this was lifted in 1964 just as inbound tourism began to increase with the Tokyo Olympics.

Tourism in this period provided a significant economic boost at the local and national levels, and has played an important role in (re-)shaping war memory into the present day through the establishment of war-related sites such as museums and memorials, and the touristification of places of significance in wartime. In terms of the latter, tourism has effected historical amnesia, emptying particular places of their wartime significance. For example, site selection and site framing in Hawaiʻi and Guam, two paradigmatic destinations for Japanese outbound tourists in the postwar, have helped obfuscate from the tourist gaze memories of the war, not to mention traces of their present-day militarization.[50] At the same time, tourism supported attempts across the ideological spectrum to recast the war in terms of national victimhood, often occluding signs of wartime aggression. For example, Ran Zwigenberg has argued that tourism helped Hiroshima in the 1960s not only rebuild infrastructure but also reinvent itself as a city of peace, sanctifying or "clearing" politics from the Peace Park.[51]

A key focus of research into the production of war memory has been the complex process by which collective memories are embodied at an individual or local level, and how memories are passed from one generation to the next. In case studies of Hiroshima's Atomic Bomb Dome, Mabuni 摩文仁 in Okinawa, and sites related to *tokkō* in Chiran 知覧, Fukuma Yoshiaki 福間良明 reveals how external, especially national, perceptions are internalized under the influence of global, national, and local factors such as the international anti-nuclear/anti-war movement (Hiroshima) and rural de-population (Chiran).[52] Similarly, war-related sites registered with UNESCO World Heritage or Memory of the World draw on international discourses of heritage preservation to frame them for international and domestic audiences. As well as boosting visitor numbers and bringing in outside funding, this furnishes an international platform for Japanese historical narratives of war and, in the case of Gunkanjima 軍艦島, international disputes over these narratives

49 Benesch and Zwigenberg 2019; McDonald (2017) also notes continuities in present-day touristic representations and practices.
50 Yaguchi 2011; Yamaguchi 2007.
51 Zwigenberg 2014, p. 209.
52 Fukuma 2015; also Fukuma and Yamaguchi 2015; see also Zwigenberg (2014) on Hiroshima.

to be staged.[53] In his research on Asia-Pacific War memory in Japan, Philip Seaton has also considered how war-related tourism, its practices and representations, are used in the postwar by competing groups to transmit often-opposing narratives of the war, but as these studies show, "peace" is a common invocation whatever one's political agenda.[54]

The emergence of "peace tourism" in the 1970s and 1980s is typically explained in terms of the demographic transition from those who directly experienced the war to those who did not—Marianne Hirsch's "postmemory" generation.[55] For example, Yamaguchi Makoto 山口誠 has traced the emergence of Hiroshima as a mecca for peace-related school trips to a particular school's efforts from the mid-1970s to stem the fading of war memories by having students learn directly from atomic-bomb survivors.[56] Yet peace discourses have also increasingly played a role in the marketing and practices of tourism to sites more commonly associated with right-wing and conservative perspectives on the war, including Chiran and the Yamato Museum 大和ミュージアム in Kure 呉, whose primary attraction is a to-scale replica of the Imperial Japanese Navy battleship *Yamato*.[57] The efficacy of "peace" as a floating signifier—a putatively neutral, uncontroversial concept that appeals to a wide audience and can be used to convey a diverse range of, sometimes contradictory, meanings—is not limited to the shaping of Asia-Pacific War narratives. Along with more obviously militarized imagery, the SDF has used slogans connected with peace, often tied to images of smiling young women, in public relations campaigns since the 1990s. Popular culture, including base tourism, is increasingly used as a means to appeal to a diverse range of audiences in the wider population.[58]

As distance from the war increases and the postmemory generation grows in size, museums play an increasingly powerful role in the shaping of memories of the Asia-Pacific War. Seaton's survey of Japanese university students suggests that museums are the second most powerful influence on their historical consciousness.[59] This makes the kinds of questions Yamaguchi asks about Chiran's Hotaru Kan ほたる館 and Chiran Peace Museum (Chiran Tokkō Heiwa Kaikan 知覧特攻平和会館) all the more pressing: war narratives are simplified in these exhibitions, and authenticity—rather than, say, historical accuracy—plays a key role in appealing to, and persuading, audiences.[60] Whether this is a feature only of more nationalist war-related exhibition spaces or is true also of more progressive ones needs to be explored.

The first most important influence on students' historical consciousness identified in Seaton's survey is the mass media, namely documentaries, TV and print news, films, and manga. Research into the representation of history in Japanese media texts is

53 Kimura 2014; Takeuchi 2018. Gunkanjima (properly called Hashima Island 端島) is also an interesting case of how war-related sites have been incorporated into—and at times have starred in—the *haikyo* 廃墟 (ruins) boom that began in the late 1990s/early 2000s. On UNESCO Memory of the World registration, see Uesugi and Fukuma in this special.

54 Fukuma, Yamaguchi, and Yoshimura 2012; Seaton 2007.

55 Hirsch 2012.

56 Yamaguchi 2012.

57 Uesugi 2012a; Uesugi 2012b; Yamamoto 2015. See also Seaton 2007, chapter 8, on museums and "peace" rhetoric.

58 Frühstück 2007, chapter 4.

59 Seaton 2007, p. 109.

60 Yamaguchi 2015.

well-advanced.[61] In terms of war-related tourism, many of the war-memory studies cited above consider the role of the mass media in framing and popularizing sites, but questions of production at the industry level and audience reception—how audiences decode and respond to these media texts, and how media-induced tourism practices are affected—are still, typically, under-researched.[62]

A recent journal special issue on war-related contents tourism takes up some of these issues. Its conclusions suggest that, while entertainment and leisure motivations drive not only media production of military images but also war-related tourism by anime or games fans, "when war is treated as entertainment, representations gravitate towards conservatism or nationalism," and this representational bias would appear to be reflected in consumption patterns and effects as well.[63] In these cases, war-related contents tourism is shown, on the one hand, to be more likely to affirm existing (especially nationalist) historical views rather than challenge or educate, and on the other, to help build affective ties to present-day military institutions (for example, the SDF).[64]

War, Tourism, and Modern Japan: The Special Issue

This special issue of *Japan Review* is the first dedicated volume to bring together scholars in Japan and outside working on all aspects of war/tourism: wartime tourism and war-related tourism during war, postwar tourism and war-related tourism in the postwar, tourism and war memory, media-induced tourism and war, war/tourism representations, and war/tourism practices. These issues are explored from a variety of academic disciplinary positions. Included here are articles by scholars working within anthropology, cultural studies, history, literature, media, sociology, and tourism studies. The papers cover the period from the first Sino-Japanese War, through the Russo-Japanese War, the invasion of Manchuria and the Asia-Pacific War, to the postwar and into the present day; and they encompass a broad range of locations, including places within prewar and postwar Japan (for example, Inland Sea islands, Hiroshima, Kyoto), pre-1945 overseas colonies (Taiwan and Korea), parts of the wider empire (Manchukuo), and regions on the frontline of wartime expansion (North China).[65]

The special issue begins with three articles that examine the relationship between war and touristic practices, and national and imperial infrastructures and institutions. In the first paper, Soyama Takeshi maps the evolution of school excursion practices and discourses through most of modern Japan's major wars. He points not just to the limits on state use of tourism as a disciplining tool, but to the multiple agendas in play at any one time, arguing that, while school excursions were exploited in order to instill nationalism and militarism in students, school leaders themselves exploited nationalistic ideology so that excursions could continue their important role of fostering student–teacher relations even during wartime.

61 See, for example, Berry and Sawada 2016; Rosenbaum 2013; Morris-Suzuki and Rimmer 2008.

62 See, for example, Fukuma and Yamaguchi 2015.

63 Seaton 2018 (not paginated). These conclusions are based on case studies from Korea as well as Japan, and might be explored further in relation to war-related media-induced tourism elsewhere in the world. For a definition of "contents tourism" (vis-à-vis "media-induced tourism"), see Seaton in this special issue.

64 Sugawa-Sawada 2018; Yamamura 2018.

65 One area this special issue does not cover, however, and a fruitful path for future research, is the postwar development and popularity (or otherwise) of sites depicting Japan's colonial history and military aggression in mainland and Southeast Asia. For example, see Gonzalez 2013; Yamaguchi 2007.

In the second paper, Kate McDonald explores how battlefield tourism constructs and sustains collective memories in a multiethnic, imperial context through examining the production of collective memory at a major battlefield of the Russo-Japanese War: 203-Meter Hill in Lushun 旅順 (Jp. Ryojun; En. Port Arthur), Manchuria. In particular, she reveals how changes in territory and ideology produced shifts in memory practices regarding 203-Meter Hill, and how the site served to produce a powerful sense of Korean national identity as much as it did a Japanese national identity.

In the third paper, Oikawa Yoshinobu 老川慶喜, provides a detailed exploration of the development of the domestic rail network from the Russo-Japanese War, through the "interwar" years to the beginning of the Asia-Pacific War, analyzing correspondence and points of fracture between touristic and military uses. Oikawa, like Soyama, highlights the fact that tourism and war are not always collaborative, as he finds that, at least on official and institutional levels, military uses of the railway came to subsume those of leisure in the early 1940s as state involvement became more intense and intrusive.

The next three papers look at how tourism and tourism discourse have shaped the experiences and accounts of Anglophone visitors to Japan and its empire during war and occupation. Andrew Elliott's analysis of a selection of Anglophone travel texts about trips to the battle front from Japan during the second Sino-Japanese War explores how the usage and significance of orientalist tropes shifted in the 1930s, part of a process of inter-imperial ideational exchange that saw the touristic exotic taken up by official agencies and used to market Japan, territories on the continent, and regions on the frontline of military expansion. While the reach of tourism as a form of cultural diplomacy was ultimately limited, these texts nevertheless reveal tourism's efficacy as a disciplinary tool, incorporating travelers into a Japanese nationalist vision of the second Sino-Japanese War and regional geopolitics.

Daniel Milne's study looks at how the U.S. and New Zealand attempted to educate/indoctrinate soldiers about Japan through manipulating tourist, militarist, and "militourist" gazes in photographic and written military media between 1945 and 1949. He finds that these gazes were exploited in different ways to intensify soldier enmity against Japan in the final push to end the Pacific War; to legitimize military dominance and sexual exploitation from early in the Occupation; and to foster paternal sympathy and affinity with the Japanese as part of a process of repositioning Japan as a Cold War ally. He underlines the versatility and flexibility of the tourist gaze at a range of levels from official discourse to individual practice.

In the sixth paper, Tze M. Loo explores how tourism functioned in strategies to normalize America's long-term occupation of Okinawa from 1945 to 1972. Touristic imagery in military and war-related media can be seen even at the time of the devastating battle of Okinawa, so constituting a double vision of Okinawa as military base and touristic "paradise" that becomes entrenched after Japan's surrender. Loo examines the epistemological innovations that were necessary in the U.S. military's production of Okinawa as a place of occupation, and simultaneously of leisure and entertainment, for U.S. service personnel. Loo demonstrates how tourism and militarism can coexist, augment each other, and combine to play a vital role for the state and military in war, occupation, and empire building.

The following three papers trace shifting memories of war and touristification—as well as de-touristification and re-branding—of particular war-related sites in Japan. Ran Zwigenberg considers the changing significance and uses of Hiroshima Castle, from when it took on its role as a vital military center in the 1890s, through its destruction by atomic bombing at the end of World War II, to its reconstruction and rebirth as a symbol of recovery and peace in the postwar. He finds that the postwar touristification of the castle—especially its attachment to a glorified Edo period—resulted in the obfuscation of its wartime and imperial role.

The eighth paper, by Uesugi Kazuhiro 上杉和央, is a study of the naval port of Maizuru 舞鶴 in northern Kyoto prefecture from the 1900s to the 2010s. It shows how the city drew on its military heritage to attract tourists at various historical junctures, including the immediate postwar when it became a central reentry port for repatriates, and later as the city negotiated, then utilized, a military history that had become tarred by memories of war. The long time span allows not only an overview of the principal forms of tourism in modern Japan, but also reveals how the incorporation of a war-related site by these different touristic modes reflects and enables changes in attitudes to militarism and memories of war.

Fukuma Yoshiaki traces the touristification process that transformed Chiran in southern Kagoshima prefecture into the symbolic "home" of *tokkō* ("kamikaze") that it is today. He begins with the establishment of an airbase in Chiran in the 1930s, then considers the town's postwar transition, the "rediscovery" of its wartime history in the 1960s, and the process by which *tokkō* memories were internalized in the twenty-first century. He explores how external memories/discourses of Chiran and the war were adopted locally through processes of touristification and commemoration, leading to the valorization and decontextualization of *tokkō* and the erasure of memories of aggressive nationalism and violence.

In terms of their case studies and methodologies, the final two articles are the most obviously located in the present day, though their focus on hidden histories and mediated pasts offers connections to other studies included in this volume. Both authors consider how to define and theorize war-related tourism, but they develop remarkably divergent approaches to the sites they study. Andrea De Antoni uses ethnological fieldwork on recent ghost tours to the Kiyotaki 清滝 Tunnel in Kyoto to analyze (dark) tourism to haunted places as an "affective practice"; he focuses on the relationships between affect on the one hand, and discourse and power on the other. His paper sheds light on the processes through which certain actors are mobilized, and memories and discourses are created, thus becoming an integral part of the "meshwork" that constitutes one particular place. Further, it highlights how certain historical events—deaths of Korean laborers in construction in the 1920s and World War II—are strategically forgotten and silenced.

In the final paper, Philip Seaton takes a tour of the Inland Sea to examine the phenomenon of war-related contents tourism in five island case studies, arguing that representation of their war history in entertainment formats or through the promotion of tourism for "leisure and pleasure" has made war-related tourism seem more akin to "light/lite tourism" than "dark tourism." The paper provides a critique of the concept of dark tourism—including its differing uses in Japanese and English—and develops the alternative concept of war-related content tourism, especially for an understanding of tourism by the "postmemory" generation of young Japanese.

Kenneth Ruoff rounds off the special with an afterword that provides a range of suggestions for future research into the connections and overlaps between war and tourism in modern Japan. Amongst other ideas, Ruoff proposes that there is need for research into the full extent and significance of tourism across Japan's multilingual empire, heritage tourism in Japan and its (former) colonies that crosses the 1945 divide, Confucian tourism in East Asia, soldier-tourism by Japanese troops, and of what he terms "heritage tourism of resistance."

Tourism, War, and Peace Reconsidered

In mapping the multiple linkages between war/tourism as a necessary critical intervention in academic and popular tourism discourses, we must not overlook the "natural" interdependence of tourism and peace that international organizations still articulate and, the popularity of dark tourism aside, wider cultural imaginaries still hold. In revisiting peace/tourism, we remind ourselves of what this imaginary relation occludes, and what it thereby sanctions in its name.

Research shows that examples of progressive or critical wartime and war-related tourism do exist. Such tourism tends to seek transnational political solidarity, underline state aggression and wartime culpability, and reject patriotism.[66] This potential for tourism as a peaceful and anti-militarist practice requires further research, as does the extent to which tourism and militarism "may hold out possibilities for stability, liberation, or even anticolonialism."[67] In addition, scholars have rightly cautioned against assuming participation in tourism during wartime, or an interest in war-related tourism, is a sign of nationalist or militaristic sympathies.[68]

Yet, the papers in this special issue suggest that tourism is predisposed to obfuscate, if not to erase, war's violence and the need for the (national) subject to account ethically for that violence. One reason for this may be the formative place of "leisure" in modern tourism. Death and destruction can have touristic appeal, as much research has shown, but they are presumably a harder sell than pleasure and entertainment in an industry founded on promises of escape from the serious, workaday world. Secondly, peace/tourism's interdependence in discourses of international society and transnational cultural imaginaries casts tourism practices and representations as *always already* peaceful. This mythic, in the Barthean sense, functionality of tourism means that war-related tourism is arguably more easily mobilized for nationalist than progressive agendas, whatever the individual motivations or political affiliations of tourism producers and consumers.

In short, it may be asked whether tourism does not more readily support attempts to cleanse the nation of its own military violence and aggression than exhibit and demand attention to such histories or present-day realities. Future research may well reveal otherwise, but a number of contemporary news events related to war/tourism suggest this to be the case: the ongoing controversy over Gunkanjima's registration as a UNESCO World Heritage site, the choice of the Ise Grand Shrines (Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮) for the opening

66 See, for example, Gonzalez 2017; Moynagh 2008; Seaton 2007. See also Elliott, McDonald, Ruoff, and Seaton in this special issue.

67 Gonzalez and Lipman 2016, p. 518.

68 See, for example, Jaworowicz-Zimny 2018; Ruoff 2010. Also, Fukuma, Seaton, Soyama in this special issue.

ceremony of the G7 summit in 2016, or the recent decision to develop military fortresses as tourism resources by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (Kokudo Kōtsū Shō 国土交通省).[69] At the very least, these examples show how tourism continues to play an important role, not only in international diplomacy related to war, but also in local, national, and international memories of war and their transmission—internationally, and to current and future generations of Japanese.

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School Excursions and Militarism: Continuities in Touristic *Shūgaku Ryokō* from the Meiji Period to the Postwar[1]

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Shūgaku ryokō were originally established by Tokyo Normal School, a national teacher training school, in the mid-Meiji period. At the beginning, these excursions were educational trips involving overnight stays, and combined military-style marching, called *kōgun*, with naturalistic observation. Subsequently, normal schools and middle schools nationwide adopted this type of school trip. Later, marching was replaced with train travel, and military training was separated from school excursions, resulting in a touristic form of *shūgaku ryokō*, which was then maintained by schools around Japan over the Taishō and Shōwa periods. Although a boom in *shūgaku ryokō* in Manchuria and Korea occurred after the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), and a form of *shūgaku ryokō* ostensibly aimed at the veneration of deities and ancestors emerged under the wartime regime, touristic practices and motivations continued to underlie it. This paper argues that the touristic *shūgaku ryokō* were maintained from the mid-Meiji period to the 1970s because they were continuously supported by students, parents, teachers, and contemporary society. Two major factors were behind such widespread support: first, *shūgaku ryokō* provided a wide range of people with opportunities to experience tourism; and second, teachers and students continued to value the recreation and friendship that they enjoyed through such excursions.

Keywords: *shūgaku ryokō*, normal schools, *kōgun*, naturalistic observation, tourism, railway, Manchuria and Korea, wartime, recreation, friendship

Introduction

Shūgaku ryokō 修学旅行 (school excursions) are educational trips involving overnight stays, organized by elementary and secondary educational institutions in Japan to take students on study and similar tours. They are a type of school event distinctive to Japan. Today, almost all schools in Japan offer *shūgaku ryokō* to students in their final or penultimate year.

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Although in some cases a family's family situation may prevent it, in principle, all students are expected to participate. As a result, the majority of children in Japan take three or more overnight trips organized by their schools during the twelve-year period between elementary and senior high school. Thus, *shūgaku ryokō* allow students to gain an experience of leisure travel, and for many Japanese people, this type of school excursion would have been their first extended trip before family vacations became common. Family trips began to be popularized as the urban middle class grew between the two world wars, and spread more widely through the leisure boom of the 1960s, which was triggered by economic growth and the nuclearization of families, and the 1970 Osaka World Expo.

Shūgaku ryokō were originally established in the 1880s by teacher training schools known as normal schools (*shihan gakkō* 師範学校). The early *shūgaku ryokō* included military training as an important element, in addition to naturalistic observation and school tours. This type of school excursion was first designed as an effective out-of-school activity for conducting *kōgun* 行軍, marching for military training, and therefore military affairs played an important role in their origin. Soon after the introduction of *shūgaku ryokō* into normal schools, however, military training was separated from these excursions, which changed into educational tours of sites connected with the legacies of Japanese modernization and cultural heritage in metropolitan areas, such as Tokyo and Kansai. This new type of excursion later became the standard form of *shūgaku ryokō* for around a hundred years, covering the period before and after the Asia-Pacific War. From the 1990s, the contents of *shūgaku ryokō* have diversified, with importance placed increasingly on interactive learning and cross-cultural interactions overseas. However, the purpose and position of *shūgaku ryokō* in Japanese school education have not changed significantly.

Discussing the formation of school events in the Meiji period in relation to imperial ideology, Yamamoto Nobuyoshi 山本信良 and Konno Toshihiko 今野敏彦 argued that *shūgaku ryokō*, as its focus shifted to recreation in the Meiji period, helped foster among students a family-like identification with their school. In the Taishō and early Shōwa periods, this made *shūgaku ryokō* an effective instrument to mobilize students for nationalistic endeavors.[2] Suzuki Ken'ichi 鈴木健一 further expanded Yamamoto and Konno's discussion of the Taishō and Shōwa periods, including the postwar. He classified *shūgaku ryokō* from before the Asia-Pacific War into categories of foundational and developmental excursions, and showed how nationalism and militarism had a significant impact on these early forms. Suzuki also investigated the revival and diversification of *shūgaku ryokō* in the postwar period.[3]

These two previous works serve as the basis for historical understanding of the formation and development of *shūgaku ryokō*, and this paper makes use of their findings. This paper also owes much to a series of studies on *shūgaku ryokō* by Hamano Ken'ichi 浜野兼一, as well as Shin'ya Yasuaki's 新谷恭明 research about long-distance hiking trips organized by schools.[4] In addition, this study draws on school documents on prewar *shūgaku ryokō* and early articles in education journals.

2 Yamamoto and Konno 1973.
3 Suzuki 1983.
4 Hamano 2002; Hamano 2003; Hamano 2004a; Hamano 2007; Shin'ya 2001.

While Suzuki emphasizes the militaristic tendencies of *shūgaku ryokō* in the Taishō and Shōwa periods prior to the establishment of the fully-fledged wartime regime, he underestimates the significance of the continuing movements toward recreation and tourism underlying *shūgaku ryokō*. I argue here that tourism is a key attribute of *shūgaku ryokō* from its origins to today, and that tourism provides one important explanation for the survival of *shūgaku ryokō* over this one-hundred-year stretch. Tourism provided *shūgaku ryokō* with a distinctive, universal value that helped it gain widespread recognition and acceptance across all sections of society, while allowing it to remain largely independent of political and social shifts.

Suzuki also investigates the perpetuation of *shūgaku ryokō* using examples from both wartime and postwar, and explains it in terms of teachers' desires to offer students an experience of recreation and friendship. Furthermore, Shirahata Yōzaburō 白幡洋三郎 states that this longing for *shūgaku ryokō* can be explained only through the concept of "travel desires."[5] It is the desire to travel that underpins *shūgaku ryokō*'s universality, and arguably leads to the emergence and development of a tourism-oriented practice.

The term "tourism" should be defined here. In English, the word is ordinarily used to denote travel in general, including trips for business and journeys home. Tourism is often viewed as a particularly modern phenomena, because of the technologies and systems that enable it, such as transportation, accommodation, agents, communication technologies, publication activities, tourism legislation, and tourism administration. However, the meaning of "tourism" used in this paper is closer to the Japanese term *kankō* 観光. In Japan today, *kankō* is used to mean "travel for pleasure." Accordingly, "tourism" in this paper refers to travels and trips for the purpose of pleasure. The pleasures brought by tourism arise from experiences of appreciating places and objects. This is also the case for modes of *shūgaku ryokō* from the mid-Meiji period onward, thus the framework of tourism helps in its examination.

At the same time, however, although military training was separated from *shūgaku ryokō* at an early point, other military elements nevertheless remained. It is important to underline that, from the Meiji period to the Asia-Pacific War, the military was not opposed on the basis of a dichotomy between war and peace, as in present-day Japan. Rather, as a result of *fukoku kyōhei* 富国強兵 ("rich country, strong army") and similar visions of an economically and militarily powerful nation, there was widespread support for the military, whose facilities were seen as symbols of national prosperity and modernization. Together with government offices, higher educational institutions, commercial facilities, and factories, military schools, troop camps, and naval ports were commonly selected as tour destinations intended to encourage students to appreciate the legacies of Japanese modernization. Furthermore, after the first Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, there was increased public attention given to Korea and Manchuria, leading to a boom in *shūgaku ryokō* that focused on battlefield tourism there. This was partly because of a widespread feeling of exaltation as a victorious nation, and, further, under the wartime regime, *shūgaku ryokō* were used as a means to enhance national prestige.

Initially, *shūgaku ryokō* were not aimed at female students, but the formation of a touristic mode of *shūgaku ryokō* that was separate from military training led to its adoption

5 Shirahata 1996, p. 130.

by some women's educational institutions. Most women's schools saw excursions as incompatible with their stated purpose of fostering "good wives and wise mothers," and refused to participate.

If tourism was a factor behind the survival of *shūgaku ryokō*, as argued earlier, what relation was there between the military-rooted *shūgaku ryokō* and touristic *shūgaku ryokō*? By focusing on the interrelationship of militarism and tourism, this paper will examine the factors behind *shūgaku ryokō*'s survival from the Meiji period to today, and the continuities in school excursion practices over this period.

Shūgaku Ryokō for Military Training

Origins of Shūgaku Ryokō

Although *shūgaku ryokō* as educational trips emerged after the modern educational system was introduced into Japan, out-of-school activities were not without precedent. In the Edo period, *terakoya* 寺子屋 (lit. temple schools) elementary schools organized school events, such as cherry blossom viewing, for purposes of recreation, friendship, and amusement. In the early Meiji period, New Year shrine visits and boat excursions were offered by elementary schools. These events served as a prototype of collective out-of-school activities, laying the social and cultural foundations of the distinctive system of school excursions developed in modern Japan.[6] Relatively early examples of such activities in the Meiji period were a New Year shrine visit by forty students at Eiseikan 永清館 school in Tochigi prefecture on 1 January 1875; and a visit to the First National Industrial Exposition in Ueno Park by students from Kōgyokusha 攻玉社 school in Tokyo in August 1877. Such activities were not conducted on the basis of educational legislation, but as voluntary school events organized mainly by elementary schools, women's educational institutions, and small private schools, using *terakoya*-type school events as a prototype.[7]

Around 1884, recreational out-of-school events, such as New Year shrine visits and boat excursions, began to transform under the influence of European and North American models. One new event was *kōgun* or military marching, conducted as part of infantry training. For example, students at Osaka Normal School received infantry training at the Osaka Garrison over four months from May 1884, during which they conducted live target practice three times and *kōgun* twice. While marching, the students were equipped in the same way as army infantry soldiers, and were divided into two opposite forces to fight simulated battles. They marched mostly over weekends to avoid missing class.[8]

Ensoku 遠足, which today refers to educational day trips by bus or train, should be mentioned here in comparison with *shūgaku ryokō*. In the Meiji period, the form and content of *ensoku* varied according to the educational institution, but a common element was traveling on foot in lines from the school to a selected destination, where they conducted some kind of collective physical activity. Activities ranged from "flag grabbing" (*hata ubai* 旗奪い) and ball games, to sumo wrestling and simulated battles. In short, military marching (*kōgun*) could be categorized as *ensoku*, but *kōgun* could also mean something other than military-style training. For example, in 1885 Saitama Prefectural Normal School

6 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, pp. 183–84.
7 Suzuki 1983, p. 87.
8 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, pp. 184–86.

held an event called *gi kōgun* 擬行軍 (pseudo-military marching) to Mt. Asuka 飛鳥山, where students played football, instead of doing military exercise. The following year, the same school also held an out-of-school event near Yorii 寄居, with rabbit hunting as the main activity. These examples suggest that *ensoku* in the Meiji period referred to a wide range of events involving walks outside the school and certain physical activities, and that terms such as *ensoku*, *kōgun*, *ensoku undō* 遠足運動 (exercise) and *undō kai* 運動会 (sports meetings) were often used interchangeably to denote activities with similar content. These events could even include academic study. For example, from October 1885 to May 1886, Toyotsu 豊津 Middle School in Fukuoka prefecture held ten events called *ensoku kai* 遠足会, which contained not only physical exercise but also research. This example anticipates the later incorporation of academic research into long-distance hiking carried out by Tokyo Normal School.[9]

Military-Style Gymnastics and Tokyo Normal School

Tokyo Normal School is commonly considered the first school to adopt *shūgaku ryokō*, which then spread to normal and middle schools nationwide. While the *shūgaku ryokō* of Tokyo Normal School were originally conducted under the name *chōto ensoku* 長途遠足 (long-distance school trips), a later publication produced by Tokyo Higher Normal School on the occasion of the school's sixtieth anniversary uses the term *kōgun ryokō* 行軍旅行 (military marching trip) for these events. A significant part of *chōto ensoku* was taken up by the military-style training known as *kōgun*, but these trips also contained school visits, naturalistic observation, and other activities. Below is a brief explanation of how Tokyo Normal School, as a teacher training institution, decided to adopt the military training of *kōgun* in the form of *shūgaku ryokō*.

Founded as Normal School in 1872, it was renamed Tokyo Normal School in 1873. There are no records about out-of-school activities held by Tokyo Normal School until the *chōto ensoku* of 1886. In the revised school regulations of November 1874, physical education was first categorized as an activity to be conducted out of regular school hours. In October 1878, however, four months after the Taisō Denshūjō 体操伝習所 (National Center for Physical Education) was founded, the educational regulations were revised. These provided for physical education to be incorporated into the regular curriculum within the advanced class category of "Arts," together with drawing, writing, reading, and singing. The revised regulations recommended that physical education should be taught for five hours per week, or ninety hours per semester, and should focus on exercises without equipment, exercises with equipment such as dumbbells, clubs, and ball-tipped wands called *kyūkan* 球竿, and marching. Isawa Shūji 伊沢修二 was appointed Taisō Torishirabe Gakari 体操取調掛 (officer in charge of physical education) by the Department of Education in 1878, then assumed the position of principal of Tokyo Normal School in March 1879, while concurrently serving as the head of the National Center for Physical Education.[10] A close relationship existed between personnel at the center and Tokyo Normal School, and the revised regulations were followed.

9 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, pp. 186–90.
10 Hamano 2004a, pp. 84–87.

In 1880, in order to commence a program of infantry training, the National Center for Physical Education requested the Ministry of the Army send one commissioned officer and three non-commissioned officers from its military training faculty as instructors. These officers taught students at the center three times per week.[11] Tokyo Normal School added military training to its educational activities after the Ministry of Education issued a notice in May 1885 requesting that a trial program should begin. The title of the class was *heishiki taisō* 兵式体操 (military-style physical education).[12] In August 1885, Mori Arinori 森有礼, a Ministry of Education official, was appointed to supervise Tokyo Normal School, and the National Center for Physical Education was incorporated into Tokyo Normal School in December that year. The appointment of Mori as supervisor of Tokyo Normal School meant that it was used as the model for all normal schools, and that Mori's nationalistic ideology concerning education would be directly reflected in educational activities there.[13] Tokyo Higher Normal School's sixtieth-anniversary publication, *Sōritsu rokujū nen* 創立六十年, explains the situation at that time: "Military training was added as a class within the regular curriculum. Although some argued that *kōgun ryokō* should be modeled closely after the military, in consideration of the school's educational objectives, it was concluded that it would be more appropriate to ensure that military-style marching excursions also include an element of academic study."[14] In this way, the official introduction of *kōgun ryokō*, or military-style physical education, as a regular subject in the curriculum, led to the planning and development of *chōto ensoku*.

Mori Arinori played a crucial role in Tokyo Normal School's teacher training and the formation of early *shūgaku ryokō*. After working in the United States, Qing China, and Britain as a diplomat for the new Meiji government, Mori was appointed as a member of the Sanji-in 参事院 (Legislative Advisory Council) in May 1884, and began to serve concurrently as a Ministry of Education official. The Sanji-in was the core governmental organization involved in establishing and reviewing laws and regulations, but Mori was more enthusiastic about educational administrative reform than serving as a Sanji-in member. In December 1885, he became a member of Itō Hirobumi's 伊藤博文 first cabinet as Minister of Education.[15]

Mori believed that education should be aimed at fostering national subjects with the necessary attitudes and abilities to support and develop the prosperity and power of the state. Normal schools were training future leaders who could help produce such citizens, therefore their educational activities needed to be strictly controlled and managed. The military-style physical education introduced into normal schools was seen as one means of achieving Mori's goal.[16] Previously, normal school students had been generally allowed to dress as they liked and live where they wished. However, after Mori's reform, normal schools around Japan required students to live in school dormitories supervised by former non-commissioned officers. All students were required to wear Western-style uniforms

11 Monbushō 1881, p. 790.
12 Monbushō 1885, p. 5.
13 Hamano 2004a, p. 88.
14 Tōkyō Bunrika Daigaku and Tōkyō Kōtō Shihan Gakkō 1931, p. 32.
15 Inuzuka 1985, pp. 249–52.
16 Inuzuka 1985, p. 258.

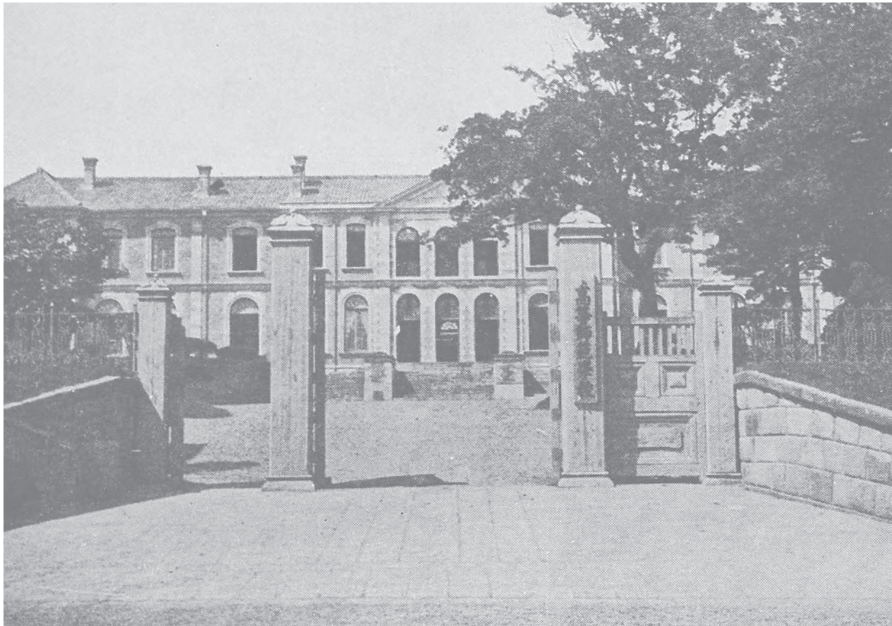

Figure 1. Higher Normal School (circa 1900). Courtesy of the National Diet Library Digital Collections.

and submit to strict military discipline, both inside and outside the classroom.[17] In 1901, following Mori's policy, the Ministry of Education ruled that military gymnastics should be incorporated as a regular subject within school curriculums. This was what led to military training—once the core of *shūgaku ryokō*—becoming separated from such excursions.[18]

Tokyo Normal School and Long-Distance School Trips

As noted, the first recorded example of *shūgaku ryokō* is the *chōto ensoku* or long-distance school trip carried out by Tokyo Normal School in February 1886. It was a combination of *kōgun*, *ensoku*—both of which had been conducted nationwide prior to the emergence of long-distance school trips—and Toyotsu Middle School's *ensoku kai*, which included academic study as well as physical activities.[19]

Principal Takamine Hideo 高嶺秀夫 gave instructions that teachers in military-style physical education, physics, zoology, botany, geography, history, economics, drawing, and other subjects would take part in the excursion in order to further its aims of studying various classroom subjects in a hands-on way. He also gave students detailed directions about interacting with locals in a respectable and caring manner suitable for prospective teachers.[20]

The trip itself was held in the Bōsō 房総 region of Chiba prefecture over twelve days from 15 to 26 February 1886. A total of 121 people participated, including ninety-nine

17 Hasegawa 2005.
18 Suzuki 1983, p. 132.
19 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, p. 191.
20 Dai Nihon Kyōikukai 1886.

Table 1. Itinerary of the Tokyo Normal School Excursion.

	PLACES TO STAY	TRAVEL DISTANCE (1 RI ≒ 3.93 KM)
15 Feb.	Departure from Tokyo–Yawata-machi 八幡町–Stay in Funabashi 船橋	Over 7 *ri*
16 Feb.	Departure from Funabashi–Stay in Yakuendai 薬園台	Over 1 *ri*
17 Feb.	Departure from Yakuendai–Stay in Ōwada 大和田	1 *ri*
18 Feb.	Departure from Ōwada–Sakura 佐倉–Stay in Narita 成田	7 *ri*
19 Feb.	Departure from Narita–Matsuko 松子, Inō 伊能–Stay in Sawara	8 *ri*
20 Feb.	Departure from Sawara–Stay in Chōshi (by ship from Omigawa)	11 *ri*
21 Feb.	Stay in Chōshi	
22 Feb.	Departure from Chōshi–Nakaya Izumikawa 中谷泉川–Stay in Yōkaichiba 八日市場	6 *ri*
23 Feb.	Departure from Yōkaichiba–Takoe 田越, Hayafune 早船–Stay in Tōgane 東金	Over 6 *ri*
24 Feb.	Departure from Tōgane–Kawai 川井–Stay in Chiba	Over 6 *ri*
25 Feb.	Stay in Chiba (half a day)–Departure from Chiba–Stay in Funabashi	5 *ri*
26 Feb.	Departure from Funabashi for Tokyo	Over 7 *ri*

Source: Yamamoto and Konno 1973, p. 192.

students from both the middle and elementary school teacher courses, and ten military and academic instructors. Wearing military outfits, including "firearms, a knapsack, a coat and a blanket," students traveled the entire route of about 260 kilometers in military marching style; other than their feet, the only transportation used was the Omigawa 小見川 boat between Sawara 佐原 and Chōshi 銚子 (see table 1). During the twelve days, four main activities were conducted: naturalistic observation, elementary school tours, visits to famous places and historic sites, and military training.[21]

Naturalistic observation included meteorological observation, marine life collection on trawlers, and sketching of geological features. Students visited seven elementary schools, while instructors visited twenty elementary schools. The party also visited famous places and historic sites, such as Narita-san Shinshō Temple 成田山新勝寺, Katori Shrine 香取神社, the Hirayama shell midden 平山貝塚, Lake Inba 印旛沼, Tega Marsh 手賀沼, and the Chōshi coast. While Narita-san Shinshō Temple was a popular tourist destination that attracted many visitors from Tokyo, the other places the party visited were local historic sites or scenic spots on the route, rather than tourist destinations that would attract visitors from afar. Military training was completed without a hitch, including a two-day outdoor

21 Dai Nihon Kyōikukai 1886.

exercise on the Narashino 習志野 drill ground.[22] This first Tokyo Normal School long-distance school trip, with its distinctive combination of military training and naturalistic observation, provided a model for early *shūgaku ryokō* in the mid-Meiji period. Educational trips modeled after it later spread under the term *shūgaku ryokō* to normal schools and secondary educational institutions around Japan.

The first confirmed appearance of the term "*shūgaku ryokō*" in print was in the article "Shūgaku ryokōki" (A record of *shūgaku ryokō*) in issue 47 of *Tokyo meikei-kai zasshi* 東京茗渓会雑誌, published in December 1886. The first use of the term in the title of an actual school excursion was for a one-month trip by the Higher Normal School (the former Tokyo Normal School) in August 1887, the year following the long-distance school trip described above.[23] In this *shūgaku ryokō*, the focus on military training was reduced, and military-style marching for traveling was abolished. Instead of walking, the group traveled between Ueno and Yokokawa 横川, and back to Tokyo from Kōzu 国府津, by train. Moreover, the first confirmed appearance of the term *shūgaku ryokō* in an official document was in the Jinjō Shihan Gakkō Setsubi Junsoku 尋常師範学校設備準則 (Regulations on Equipment at Ordinary Normal School) issued in 1888, which says, "*Shūgaku ryokō* shall be conducted during a regular term, for a period of up to sixty days a year, in such a way as to allow students to participate without paying expenses other than regular meals."[24]

Education Journals and Military Training in Shūgaku Ryokō

Education journals help clarify the early military training elements present in *shūgaku ryokō*. For example, in the April 1887 issue of the education journal *Dai Nihon kyōiku kaishi* 大日本教育会誌, a *shūgaku ryokō* conducted by Nagano Prefectural Normal School was reported to include "fieldwork in military physical education partly aimed at academic research."[25] Another article in the same journal about a *shūgaku ryokō* conducted by Fukushima Prefectural Ordinary Normal School in May 1887 says that the party, "in military uniform and in possession of firearms, […] visited elementary schools, […] collected animal and plant samples, […] and measured the temperatures of mineral springs."[26] These descriptions suggest that normal schools nationwide conducted *shūgaku ryokō* with similar objectives to Tokyo Normal School's long-distance school trip. In addition, an article about a *shūgaku ryokō* conducted by Saitama Prefectural Ordinary Normal School in November 1887 contains military terms such as "enemy troops," "scouts," and "reconnaissance," indicating that this excursion included military training.[27]

Meanwhile, some journal articles show examples of schools that were reconsidering the military training aspects of *shūgaku ryokō* or deliberating whether to remove them entirely. For example, it is reported that, prior to an excursion held by Yamaguchi Higher Middle School in April 1888, "some moved for a debate about whether students should have firearms or not, but finally the school decided to allow them because of the preference of many

22 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, pp. 192–93.
23 Shin'ya 2001.
24 Suzuki 1983, p. 83.
25 Dai Nihon Kyōikukai 1887a.
26 Dai Nihon Kyōikukai 1887b.
27 Kyōiku Jiron 1887.

students."[28] In this way, after discussion, some schools chose to conduct the *shūgaku ryokō* in a military-training style. However, at about the same time, the very school which had devised the militaristic *shūgaku ryokō*, the Higher Normal School, ruled that "*kōgun* shall be conducted only during summer or winter holidays, or after spring tests, as an overnight or day excursion using no military equipment."[29] Thus, while normal schools around Japan adopted a style of *shūgaku ryokō* centered on military marching that was modeled after the long-distance school trip, the Higher Normal School was detaching military training from *shūgaku ryokō*, and transitioning to a mode of school excursion that used rail rather than marching and focused on study tours and naturalistic observation. This is not to say that the Higher Normal School abolished military training as an educational activity; rather, the school began to draw a clear distinction between *kōgun* and *shūgaku ryokō*.

Detaching Kōgun from Shūgaku Ryokō

Under the influence of Mori Arinori and the Department/Ministry of Education, and the use of Tokyo Normal School as a model for normal schools nationwide, military training was included in early *shūgaku ryokō*. Yet the examples above suggest that school principals could choose to conduct *shūgaku ryokō* in a *kōgun* style or conduct *kōgun* separately from a *shūgaku ryokō* thus shorn of its more overt military-training elements. At the very least, it appears that the Department/Ministry of Education did not exert a strong influence on the forms of *shūgaku ryokō* organized by schools around the country. Consequently, some normal schools adopted *shūgaku ryokō* that included military training, while other schools, such as the Higher Normal School, conducted *kōgun* and *shūgaku ryokō* separately.

Tochigi Prefectural Ordinary Normal School conducted *shūgaku ryokō* and *kōgun* separately in 1892. During their nine-day *shūgaku ryokō*, carried out from 19 to 27 April, they mainly traveled on foot in Chiba and Ibaraki prefectures, visiting elementary schools and observing local lifestyles. This *shūgaku ryokō* was in the style of Tokyo Normal School's long-distance school trip, but without military marching. Indeed, they used the railway to travel outward from Utsunomiya 宇都宮 to Furukawa 古河 and to return from Mito 水戸 to Utsunomiya. The same year, the school also conducted a three-day *kōgun* from 10 November to the Maoka 真岡 region in Tochigi prefecture. A firing exercise was scheduled for day two of the event, but the itinerary also included visits to elementary schools, factories, and Buddhist temples. Thus, although participants wore military uniforms, the event was a kind of *kōgun*-style *shūgaku ryokō* in terms of its content.[30] While this example shows that each school was able to select from various forms of *shūgaku ryokō*, there was a definite trend toward detaching it from military training.

The separation of military training from *shūgaku ryokō* did not mean that military training disappeared from the school curriculum. On the contrary, a distinct, independent form of military training was able to securely establish itself within the education system. Following a 1901 ordinance from the Ministry of Education, military-style physical education became part of the regular curriculum, and was clearly separated from *shūgaku ryokō*. Then, the Rikugun Gen'eki Shōkō Gakkō Haizoku Rei 陸軍現役将校学校配属令 (Imperial

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28 Dai Nihon Kyōikukai 1888, p. 633.
29 Kyōiku Jiron 1888, p. 21.
30 Kobayashi 1892.

Ordinance Concerning the Stationing of Active Army Officers at Schools), promulgated in 1924, incorporated military training as a core component of school education, and made military training and *shūgaku ryokō* fully distinct.[31] Thus, the separation from military training played a key role in the standardization of a touristic *shūgaku ryokō* focused on study tours.

Shūgaku Ryokō **and the Railway**

While it was school principals who finally decided to separate military training from *shūgaku ryokō*, two external factors accelerated this process: first, the development of the railway system as a mass transit system, and second, the staging of expositions in Tokyo.

Japan's first rail line was constructed between Shinbashi 新橋 and Yokohama in 1872. By 1899, when the Tokaidō 東海道 line between Shinbashi and Kobe was completed, the entire length of the railway network, both public and private, reached 1,052 miles (1,692.7 km).[32] Still, even in the 1890s, there were large areas of Japan that were not covered by the rail network, and it would be a considerable time before all students on *shūgaku ryokō* could travel their entire route by train. But, if they were willing to travel on foot for a few days, most students were able to reach stations on the Tokaidō, San'yō 山陽, or Nippon 日本 rail lines, and from there depart to Tokyo. The rest of this paper examines a number of such case studies.

Tottori Prefectural Ordinary Normal School's Shūgaku Ryokō

During nineteen days from 1 to 19 August 1890, twenty-six participants—the principal, two teachers, a dormitory supervisor, a caretaker, and twenty-one fourth-year students—from Tottori Prefectural Ordinary Normal School toured Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka. The party departed on foot from the school at 5:30 am on 1 August, and reached Chizu 智頭 within the day. On 2 August, they continued on foot to Hirafuku 平福. On 3 August, they walked to Une 有年 station on the San'yō Railway line, and at 6 pm caught a train to Himeji 姫路, where they slept. On 4 August, the group traveled by train from Himeji to Kobe, carried out a study tour there, then boarded the steamboat *Yamashiro Maru* 山城丸 for Yokohama. After arriving at the port at 6:30 pm on 5 August, they traveled on the 7:25 pm train to Shinbashi, arriving there at 8:40 pm. The party then walked to Ginza, Nihonbashi, and Kanda before reaching the Hasuikan 巴水館 inn in Hongō at 11:20 pm. For the next eight days, from 6 to 13 August, they visited various sites in Tokyo. Although the Third National Industrial Exposition had been held in Ueno 上野 from 1 April to 31 July that year, the party arrived in Tokyo just after it had closed.[33]

Many of the places they visited in Tokyo were schools: Tokyo Imperial University, the Higher Normal School, Tokyo Fine Arts School, Tokyo Music School, the Technical College, the Science College, and Tokyo School for the Blind, Deaf, and Dumb. Included among these were military-related educational institutions as well: the Naval War College, the Imperial Japanese Army Academy, the Military Preparatory School, and the Imperial Japanese Army Tokyo Arsenal. In addition, they visited other kinds of places: the Ministry

31 Suzuki 1983, p. 132.
32 Oikawa 2014, pp. 110 and 225. See also Oikawa's paper in this special issue.
33 Yoshida 1890.

Figure 2. Shinbashi Station (circa 1900). Courtesy of the National Diet Library Digital Collections.

of Education, the official residence of the Tottori prefectural governor in Yushima 湯島, the residence of the Ikeda 池田 family, their former daimyo in Mukōjima 向島, the government office district, Ueno Park, the zoo, the Imperial Museum, Koishikawa 小石川 Botanical Garden, a wool mill in Senju 千住, the Sōkōkan 湊浛館 (an industrial product exhibition facility in Kanda), temples and shrines such as Yushima Seidō 湯島聖堂 and Zōjōji 増上寺 temple, and the Nijū bashi 二重橋 bridge in the imperial palace.

On their return home, the group departed Shinbashi by train at 4:45 pm, and reached Kyoto Station at 10:10 am on 14 August. They visited a number of temples, including Nanzenji 南禅寺, Kurodanidera 黒谷寺, Kiyomizudera 清水寺, Hōkōji 方広寺, and Sanjūsangendō 三十三間堂, before departing for Osaka at 4:05 pm the next day. On 16 August, they visited the garrison drill ground (Chindai Renpeijō 鎮台練兵場), temples and shrines such as Shitennōji 四天王寺, Ikukunitama Jinja 生国魂神社, Tennōji 天王寺, Osaka Castle, Brigade No. 8, and the mausoleum of Emperor Nintoku 仁徳天皇, and then departed for Kobe at 2:25 pm. After a brief rest there, they boarded a train at 5 pm, and reached Une at 7:53 pm. After staying overnight in Une, Hirafuku, and Chizu, the party finally returned to the school just after midday on 19 August.[34]

Among their tours of major higher educational institutions in Tokyo, students visited three military schools. However, military training was not included in their itinerary. The group visited the drill ground and Brigade No. 8 in Osaka, but because of their tight schedule it is unlikely they had time to participate in military training practice. Given public support for an economically prosperous and militarily powerful nation in the Meiji period, military schools and facilities might seem like common-sense destinations for *shūgaku ryokō*.

34 Yoshida 1890.

However, military-related educational institutions were primarily chosen because they functioned as important modern facilities located in the capital of Tokyo, rather than for explicitly nationalistic reasons. From an educational point of view, it was generally accepted that a certain number of military-related sites should be included on these study tours, and school administrators followed this logic. Along with free time in Tokyo and/or Osaka for students to visit relatives, military sites were one part of a diverse *shūgaku ryokō* itinerary.

The *shūgaku ryokō* of Tottori Prefectural Ordinary Normal School, which was conducted about four-and-a-half years after the long-distance school trip of Tokyo Normal School, illustrates the main features of the touristic *shūgaku ryokō* that became a standard for subsequent school excursions in Japan. First, most of the activities scheduled for Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka were study visits that neither included elements of military training (though they visited military schools and facilities), nor naturalistic observation. Second, in terms of transportation, the group used private and government-run railways, enabling them to travel long distances in a short period of time, which helped establish a model of excursions over large areas in Tokyo and Kansai.

Nagano Prefectural Ordinary Normal School

Nagano Prefectural Ordinary Normal School carried out a *shūgaku ryokō* at almost the same time as Tottori Prefectural Ordinary Normal School, and this example clearly shows that the previous case study was not unusual. Tokyo was also the primary destination for the Nagano school excursion, which took place over twenty days from 22 July to 10 August 1890. A total of ninety-nine people—including eleven instructors and staff, and eighty-four first to fourth-year students—participated. Although the school actually had 121 students in total, some were unable to participate due to influenza. The party traveled by train from Nagano to Karuizawa, walked over the Usui pass 碓氷峠, which no rail lines crossed, and took a train again at Yokokawa to reach Tokyo.[35] In contrast to the Tottori school excursion, the Nagano school were able to visit the Third National Industrial Exposition, although the school reported that "it was regrettable that the party had only limited time to see the exposition."[36] The other places they visited while in Tokyo included the Imperial Palace, the Imperial University, schools such as the First Higher Middle School, Koishikawa Botanical Garden, the Diet Building, the Imperial Japanese Army Tokyo Arsenal, and Asakusa. They visited the Imperial Palace together with school groups from Chiba and Ehime, which suggests that a number of normal schools had organized *shūgaku ryokō* to Tokyo during the period of the exhibition. Among the Nagano party, forty-four members returned home after completing scheduled visits in Tokyo, while the remaining students continued to travel. They visited the warship *Ryūjō* 龍驤 in Yokosuka, stayed two nights in Kamakura, then in Hakone Yumoto 箱根湯本, and climbed Mt. Fuji, before spending six days on a return journey that took in overnight stays in places like Kōfu, Kamisuwa 上諏訪, and Matsumoto.

The Imperial Japanese Army Tokyo Arsenal and the naval port of Yokosuka were two military-related sites that the party visited. Although there is no record of military practice, physical and mental training objectives are clearly shown in activities such as climbing Mt. Fuji. In general, most of the sites visited by Nagano Prefectural Ordinary Normal School

35 Asai 1890.
36 Asai 1890, p. 2.

Table 2. Comparison of the First, Second, and Third National Industrial Expositions.

ITEM	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD
No. of exhibitors	16,174	31,239	77,432
No. of exhibits	14,455	85,366	167,066
No. of visitors	454,168	822,395	1,023,693

Source: Kuni 2010, p. 129.

were the same as those visited by Tottori Prefectural Ordinary Normal School, which suggests that a set of places and practices for touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, including Tokyo as the primary destination, originated around 1890.[37]

Expositions and Shūgaku Ryokō

Walking as the main form of *shūgaku ryokō* transit was replaced by rail because the latter enabled groups across the country to easily travel to Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe, all destinations which exerted a powerful pull on schools planning excursions. National industrial expositions further increased the appeal of these cities, and helped trigger a transition to touristic *shūgaku ryokō* using the railway network.

As exemplified by the month-long Kyoto Exposition held at Nishi Honganji 西本願寺 temple in October 1871, and an exposition held by the Department of Education in Yushima, Tokyo, in March 1872, such events in the early Meiji period mainly displayed old objects, including paintings, calligraphic works, and antiques. However, in 1874, the Home Ministry began planning industrial exhibitions aimed at promoting industry. This was the origin of the national industrial expositions staged every four years. The First National Industrial Exposition was held in Ueno over a period of 102 days from 21 August 1877, and the Second National Industrial Exposition, also in Ueno, from 1 March to 30 June 1881. As shown in table 2, the second exposition was clearly on a larger scale than the first, but also raised concerns that such a regular pace of events would stretch exhibitors and staff, and that displays might therefore lack novelty. Consequently, the Third National Industrial Exposition was postponed until 1889, and held from 26 March of that year. Although many *shūgaku ryokō* groups from around Japan visited this event, the spread of influenza in May and the first election of the members of the House of Representatives in July meant that visitor numbers did not show the expected increase, despite a much larger number of exhibitors and exhibits than the second exposition. Nevertheless, the number of visitors to the third exposition exceeded one million. The Fourth National Industrial Exposition was held in the Okazaki district of Kyoto. The Fifth National Industrial Exposition, held in Tennōji, Osaka, in 1903, attracted over 5.3 million visitors.[38]

37 Asai 1890, pp. 2–44.
38 Kuni 2010, pp. 48–179.

There is no doubt that a major draw of these events for *shūgaku ryokō* groups was that they displayed the modern achievements of Meiji Japan. In particular, the Third National Industrial Exposition, which corresponded with the transition to touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, is thought to have made a significant impact on the formation of this mode of school excursion.

The Expansion of *Shūgaku Ryokō*

Shūgaku Ryokō at Elementary Educational Institutions

In many regions, including Hyogo prefecture, elementary schools were initially prohibited from holding *shūgaku ryokō*. In the late 1890s, however, *shūgaku ryokō* began to be conducted by elementary and higher elementary schools.[39] Matsuyama 松山 Higher Elementary School in the Hiki 比企 district of Saitama prefecture carried out a three-day *shūgaku ryokō* in October 1900 in which sixty-two male students, twenty-two female students, and five teachers and staff participated. As seen in table 3, the group traveled by train to Tokyo, where a tight schedule allowed them to visit a variety of sites in a short time. They had group photographs taken at Zōjōji temple, and at various sites around Tokyo, it appears that they met *shūgaku ryokō* groups from other elementary schools. The places they visited—shrines and temples, parks, the imperial palace, schools, and troop camps—were not substantially different from the places visited by normal school groups, suggesting that a set of pre-established practices were adopted by higher elementary schools.[40]

These touristic *shūgaku ryokō* were aimed at allowing students to visit scenic spots and historic places, and observe the achievements of Japanese modernization in an urban area. They emerged through the detachment of military training from school excursions, the reduction of naturalistic observation exercises in itineraries, and a decline in the importance or necessity of walking as a means of transit. By the late 1890s, this style of *shūgaku ryokō* had been introduced into normal schools, secondary educational institutions, and eventually many elementary schools.

Many policy-makers hoped that children would grow up to actively support military action, and that some children would also become dedicated soldiers. Consequently, classroom and outdoor training was also introduced into elementary education. The cultivation of military-friendly attitudes through these activities was supported not only by families and educators, but across society as a whole, and militarism was promoted through publications targeted at children, and informal activities such as "playing war."[41] *Shūgaku ryokō* also played a significant role in the socialization of young children to support militarism. Places visited on elementary school *shūgaku ryokō* included military facilities such as troop camps. In direct ways, such tours were intended to make children positively interested in the military, but I would further argue that the inclusion of *non*-military sites, side by side with military ones, on *shūgaku ryokō* itineraries was itself an effective means of normalizing militarism. Although it might seem self-evident that explicit military training, such as *kōgun*, would most effectively shape positive attitudes to the military, rigorous physical activities such as marching and shooting practice would likely also have

39 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, pp. 214–17.
40 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, p. 218.
41 Frühstück 2017, pp. 19–103.

Table 3. Itinerary of Matsuyama Higher Elementary School's *Shūgaku Ryokō* in October 1900.

21 Oct.	Departure from school; travel on foot (boys) or by coach (girls) to Kōnosu 鴻巣; Kōnosu to Shinagawa (by train); Sengakuji 泉岳寺 temple; Maruyama Park 丸山公園 (lunch): Zōjōji temple (group photos); Diet Building; Nijū bashi bridge; Statue of Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成; Yasukuni Jinja 靖国神社
22 Oct.	Apprentice School (Totei Gakkō 徒弟学校) attached to the Technical College; Tōyō Glass 東洋硝子 (lunch); Asakusa Park 浅草公園; Hanayashiki 花屋敷; Aquarium; panorama パノラマ
23 Oct.	Visit to the First and Second Regiment (lunch); Ueno Park; the zoo; statue of Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛; Ueno to Kōnosu (by train)

Source: Yamamoto and Konno 1973, p. 218.

discouraged such attachments for some children. Thus, the inclusion of military elements within the largely non-military mode of touristic *shūgaku ryokō* worked as an indirect means of mobilizing large numbers of children for militarism. This occurred not only with elementary school groups but also students at secondary educational institutions. On the other hand, the inclusion of military facilities and sites associated with the Imperial Army also helped justify touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, allowing schools to plan itineraries that primarily took students to famous tourist destinations, historic sites, scenic spots, and sites representing the achievements of modernization in metropolitan areas.

Shūgaku Ryokō and Women's Educational Institutions

A relatively early example of the introduction of *shūgaku ryokō* into a women's educational institution was the *shūgaku ryokō* carried out by Yamanashi Women's Normal School in 1889. A total of fifteen students participated in this *shūgaku ryokō*, visiting Kyoto and Mie, then returning to Tokyo, where they went on a tour of the Ministry of Education.[42] Then in 1890, the Women's Department of Tochigi Prefectural Middle School and other women's schools went on *shūgaku ryokō*.

Yet, these examples aside, only a small number of women's educational institutions conducted *shūgaku ryokō* in the mid-Meiji period. The declared purpose of women's education was to produce "good wives and wise mothers," and schools did not see participation in *shūgaku ryokō* as a necessary or effective means of achieving this. Indeed, social norms stated that a group of women should not travel and stay overnight together, and objections were made on this basis as well. Japan's first government-run women's higher school, a school affiliated to Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School, was founded in 1882 and served as a model school for women's secondary education. However, it was not until 1924 that the school conducted its first *shūgaku ryokō*, a four-day tour primarily of the Ise shrines. This was also the case with women's Christian mission schools: both Joshigakuin 女子学院, founded in 1870, and Sacred Heart School 聖心女子学院, founded in 1910,

42 Yamamoto and Konno 1973, p. 197.

Figure 3. Statue of Kusunoki Masashige in front of the Imperial Palace (Meiji period). Courtesy of the National Diet Library Digital Collections.

only conducted their first *shūgaku ryokō* in 1931. Thus, while some women's educational institutions made early efforts to adopt *shūgaku ryokō*, many other schools opposed the introduction of such programs.[43]

An illustrative example of *shūgaku ryokō* carried out by a women's educational institution is that of Nara Women's Higher Normal School. Higher normal schools aimed to train future teachers who would work at secondary educational institutions, including middle and women's higher schools. The majority of students at higher normal schools were graduates from ordinary normal schools. In 1890, women's higher normal schools became independent from higher normal schools. The increase in the number of women's higher schools in the 1900s required new schools to train female teachers, which led to the foundation of Nara Women's Higher Normal School in 1908.

Nara Women's Higher Normal School conducted its first *shūgaku ryokō* in June 1909, allowing sixty-eight preparatory course students to participate in an overnight trip. The following year, the school began to hold *shūgaku ryokō* for specific departments, and thus second-year students in the Department of Mathematical, Physical, and Chemical Sciences went on an overnight *shūgaku ryokō* to Kyoto in November. The party mainly visited Kyoto Higher Craft School, the Ceramics Research Institute (Tōjiki Shikenjō 陶磁器試験場), Kiyomizudera temple, and Kitano Tenmangū 北野天満宮 shrine. In 1911, second-year students in the Department of History and Geography conducted a five-night *shūgaku ryokō*, mainly visiting Osaka (Tennōji temple, Nakanoshima Park 中之島公園), Takamatsu (Kotohira 琴平), Okayama (Kōrakuen 後楽園 gardens), Hiroshima (Kure 呉 Imperial

43 Suzuki 1983, pp. 119–20.

Navy base, Itsukushima Jinja 厳島神社, Hiroshima Higher Normal School), and Kobe (Minatogawa Jinja 湊川神社). As can be seen in the above cases, Nara Women's Higher Normal School conducted touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, which primarily visited famous places, historic sites, and other schools. Some correlation between the departments and destinations are visible, but it seems that the major objectives of these *shūgaku ryokō* were to allow future female leaders in education to broaden their knowledge about society, as well as strengthen interpersonal bonds with each other and instructors. As seen in the visit to the naval base by students in the Department of History and Geography, their *shūgaku ryokō* also included visits to military facilities—as with ordinary normal schools and other schools. It is thus difficult to distinguish any unique characteristics of women's educational institutions through their *shūgaku ryokō* itineraries.[44]

Compared with those carried out by men's educational institutions in the Meiji period, *shūgaku ryokō* conducted by women's secondary or higher educational institutions sometimes included naturalistic observation, specimen collection, and similar activities, but did not include military training because of assumptions that the military was for men. Therefore, from early on, *shūgaku ryokō* conducted by women's schools tended to focus on visits to famous tourist destinations, historic sites, sites representing modernization, and schools. Furthermore, prevailing discourses around female physical characteristics meant women's school groups relied more often on transportation methods like rail than men's school groups, resulting in a stronger tendency toward touristic *shūgaku ryokō.* While women were required to be physically healthy enough to become good mothers, they were not required to do military training. Although schools that trained female teachers introduced *shūgaku ryokō* in a relatively proactive manner, not all middle- or upper-class families at that time viewed such attempts as favorable. In the pre-World War II period, middle- or upper-class families believed that the happiness of their daughters lay in a good marriage soon after or even before graduation from women's higher schools, and some families discouraged their daughters from advancing to women's normal schools, although highly educated female teachers were generally respected.[45]

Criticisms of Shūgaku Ryokō

As *shūgaku ryokō* expanded, so did criticism of it. A relatively early example was an article from 1889 titled "Shūgaku ryokō no hi o ronzu" 修学旅行ノ非ヲ論ズ (An Argument Against *Shūgaku Ryokō*), in the education journal *Kyōiku jiron* 教育時論. This pointed out the following problems: first, though *shūgaku ryokō* fostered shared feelings and obligations between instructors and students, there were very few other effects that were positive; second, students sometimes acted in a troublesome manner while traveling; third, from an educational point of view, it would be more effective to spend the excursion budget on employing more instructors; and fourth, if the current trend toward *shūgaku ryokō* by women students was not halted, the "reputation" of the educational community would be damaged, and a groundswell of public reproach would result.[46]

44 Hamano 2004b, pp. 27–35; Takagi 2013.

45 Inoue 2017, pp. 182–86.

46 *Kyōiku jiron* 1889.

Education journals published after 1900, when *shūgaku ryokō* spread across the country, carried articles that pointed out problems such as the burden of travel expenses on students' parents, and scheduling difficulties for regular classes due to the need to include excursion itineraries.[47] Other articles pointed out students' problematic behavior: "Needless to say, *shūgaku ryokō* do have a beneficial impact on students [.... But] local newspapers report that some higher or middle school students behave badly, including students who secretly visit brothels at night, inviting geisha to entertain them there." The article concluded that greater regulation was required.[48] Many of these critical articles did not completely reject *shūgaku ryokō*; rather, they acknowledged the importance of school excursions, and looked to find ways to reduce unacceptable behavior.

Shūgaku Ryokō on the Continent

Army Support for Shūgaku Ryokō in Korea and Manchuria

A boom in *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea was concomitant with continental expansionism in the years after the Russo-Japanese War. On 13 July 1906, a joint party from Tokyo Higher Normal School and Tokyo Prefectural Normal School departed from Shinbashi for Ujina 宇品 in Hiroshima prefecture. Two days later, at six in the morning, the party boarded the *Kotohira Maru* 琴平丸. Students from Kagoshima Seventh Higher School joined them, when the ship visited Moji port the following day. The group—totaling an impressive six hundred members—arrived at the port of Dalian (Jp. Dairen 大連) on 18 July.[49] A few weeks later, in late July, students from schools around Japan once again came together in Ujina to undertake a continental *shūgaku ryokō* on ships provided free of charge by the Imperial Japanese Army.

The main factor behind the sudden popularity of school excursions to Manchuria and Korea was a proposal for the Man–Kan Junyū Ryokōkai 満韓巡遊旅行会 (Manchuria–Korea Excursion Tour) by the Asahi Shinbunsha. This tour was advertised in both the eastern and western Japan issues of the *Asahi shinbun* on 22 June 1906. It was scheduled to depart from Yokohama the following month, on 25 July, visit major cities in Manchuria and Korea, as well as battlefield sites from the Russo-Japanese War, and return to Kobe on 23 August. The maximum number of tourists who could participate was set at 374, and this figure was reached in just three days. An overseas group tour on this scale had never been seen before in Japan, and readers reacted positively. After the newspaper announcement, the Imperial Army made a number of generous offers to the company, including permission for the excursion party to land at Dalian and Lushun 旅順 (Jp. Ryojun; En. Port Arthur) and use the Dalian pier for free; a one-third discount on train fares for all lines in Korea and Manchuria, then under the control of the Japanese Army; and permission for the tour group to use military quarters along the lines for accommodation. The Imperial Navy also permitted the tour ship to enter Kure and Sasebo 佐世保 ports and invited the group to visit the naval dockyards. In addition, discounts were also offered on domestic train fares to the departure port, while both Higashi and Nishi Honganji temples allowed the tour group to rest at their branch temples in Korea and Manchuria. The Asahi Shinbunsha, as

47 *Kyōiku jiron* 1902.
48 *Kyōiku jiron* 1903.
49 Shimoda 1907, pp. 1–11.

organizer, had hoped students would participate in this excursion, and offered reduced ship fares for 200 of 370 tickets in anticipation of student applications, but these low-fare tickets were quickly sold to non-student applicants. It was within this context that the Ministry of War formulated plans to allow middle- or higher-level school students to use army ships departing from Ujina port for free when they traveled to Manchuria and Korea during the summer holidays, on the condition that they were led by school staff. The army organized its ships according to the following boarding schedule: *Karafuto Maru* 樺太丸 (15 July 1907); *Kotaki Maru* 小滝丸 (19 July 1907); *Jingū Maru* 神宮丸 (23 July 1907); *Miyoshino Maru* 御吉野丸 (25 July 1907); *Karafuto Maru* (29 July 1907). In total, 7,616 people applied to take the ships arranged by the army, although in the end, only 3,694 people were able to board these due to a shortage of vessels.[50]

With military victory against Qing China and Russia, there was increased excitement in Japan about the country's status as a great power, and new interest in the continent. Public reaction to the Asahi Shinbunsha's tour promotion inspired the Ministry of Education, schools and companies nationwide, and the Imperial Japanese Army, who offered a different kind of support and encouragement.

Tokyo Higher Normal School's Continental Shūgaku Ryokō

An illustrative example of *shūgaku ryokō* on the continent is Tokyo Higher Normal School's 1906 tour. On 13 July, the group departed Shinbashi station, returning there nearly a month later on 11 August. The school's report of the tour is entitled *Ryōtō shūgaku ryokōki* 遼東修学旅行記 (A Record of a School Excursion to Liaodong), but the expression "*Shūgaku ryokō* to South Manchuria" is also used inside the report. The stated objective of the excursion was for students to "inspect the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War." In all, there were 192 participants: 168 student volunteers, twenty-one instructors and staff members, and three hired workers. The students were affiliated to a diversity of university departments, and were divided into twelve mixed groups. Before the party departed, the Ministry of Education negotiated with the national railway organization to enable the party to ride the train network for free. The Ministry of War also allowed the party to use its ships, and provided them with support on trains, accommodation, and other matters in Manchuria.[51] Table 4 shows an outline of the itinerary.

This *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea was carried out with the generous support of the army. Since the tour was intended to take students to inspect battlefields from the Russo-Japanese War, the party visited five military-related places—Liaodong, Tieling, Liaoyang, Nanzan, and Ryūjuton—where they were guided by army officers. The army exerted a substantial influence on the tour, and the school was unable to freely choose destinations and local itineraries. In other ways too, the army offered support: a considerable number of students became sick at various times during the month-long journey in an environment different from mainland Japan—in Yingkou, thirteen students came down with diarrhea, and were sent to the Imperial Japanese Army Hospital in Dalian.[52]

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50 Ariyama 2002, pp. 18–39.
51 Shimoda 1907, pp. 1–11.
52 Shimoda 1907, p. 9.

Table 4. Tokyo Higher Normal School's *Shūgaku Ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea.

13 July	Departure from Shinbashi
15	Arrival in Ujina at 6:20 am; boarding *Kotohira Maru* at 9 am
16	Arrival in Moji at 6 am; departure from Moji at 3 pm
18	Arrival in Dalian at 3 pm
19	Stay in Dalian; lecture by a Development Office engineer on the geological features of Manchuria
20	Dalian Ordinary Higher Elementary School; product exhibition hall; power plant; steel works; agricultural research institute; water source; Nishi Park 西公園 , and so on
21	Departure from Dalian at 11 am; arrival in Liaodong at 2:18 pm
22	Visits to Huang Chin Shan 黄金山砲台 (Golden Hill Fort) and other places in Liaodong
23	Departure from Liaodong at 7:20 am
24	Arrival in Fengtian 奉天 (Mukden) at 9:20 am
25	Tour of Fengtian; visit to the Fushun 撫順 coal mine
26	Departure from Fengtian at 6:57 am; arrival in Tieling 鉄嶺 at 10:32 am; visit to military defenses; tour of the city
27	Free time in the morning; departure from Tieling at 8:11 pm
28	Arrival in Liaoyang 遼陽 at 3:14 am; visit to Kubiyama 首山 fort
29	Departure from Liaoyang at 3:59 am; arrival in Yingkou 営口 at 9:05 am; optional tour of the city
30	Departure from Yingkou at 7 am; arrival in Jinzhou 金州 at 7:30 pm
31	Nanshan 南山, lecture by brigade commander, explanation about defensive positions by officer; departure from Jinzhou at 5 pm; travel on foot; arrival in Ryūjuton 柳樹屯 at 7 pm
1 Aug.	Visit to military positions from the first Sino-Japanese War in Ryūjuton; departure from Ryūjuton at 5 pm; departure from Jinzhou at 7 pm; arrival in Dalian in 9 pm
2	Optional tour in Dalian
3	Stay in Dalian; no participants requested to return via Korea
4	Stay in Dalian
5	Departure of *Kotohira Maru* at 3 pm
8	Arrival in Moji at 7 am; departure at 11 am; arrival in Ujina at 10 pm
9	Landing at 8 am; close of tour, excepting Tokyo return groups
10	Departure from Hiroshima at 10:05 am
11	Arrival in Shinbashi at 5:30 pm

Source: Compiled from information in Shimoda 1907, pp. 1–11.

As can be seen from the example of Tokyo Higher Normal School, *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea were conducted with the full support of the Ministry of Education and the army prior to departure, and with the help of local Japanese army troops while the party was in Manchuria. However, it is important to recognize that, although the army was very closely involved in all stages of this tour, there was no provision of military training practice, including *kōgun*. To that extent, this was a touristic *shūgaku ryokō* with battlefields as the main destinations, conducted with the cooperation of the army.

Expansion of Continental Shūgaku Ryokō

After that, many secondary or higher-level educational institutions in Japan conducted tours of Manchuria and Korea as *shūgaku ryokō* in the Taishō and early Shōwa periods. In 1930, 10,677 students in 213 student groups visited Manchuria and Korea. Many of the schools that conducted this type of *shūgaku ryokō* were vocational schools, including normal, commercial, and agricultural ones, and the overwhelming majority of them were located in western Japan, as this location meant lower transportation costs. Some women's educational institutions also conducted *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea. For example, in 1930, nine women's normal schools, five women's higher schools, and two women's technical schools.[53] Knowledge about the military and battlefields was seen as particularly necessary for students at women's normal schools so they could share these experiences with students in the future.

It is generally thought that the number of schools conducting *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea declined after the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident in 1931, and the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, but it is clear that these conflicts rather boosted Japanese interest in China and the continent. As late as 1939, Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School and Nara Women's Higher Normal School were organizing separate "continental trips."[54] However, in May 1940, the Tokyo Prefectural Board of Education issued a notification that imposed restrictions on *shūgaku ryokō* to mainland China.

Even if *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea were intended to bring students to battlefields, or help them to understand national policy on continental expansion, these journeys had striking touristic qualities. Although former battlefield sites were important places to be visited in an overseas version of touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, students' travel impressions would have taken in a large variety of other scenes and experiences as well. Most of the itineraries of these *shūgaku ryokō* included visits to parks, schools, museums, and product exhibition halls, as well as battlefields or military sites, and in some cases, students were given free time to explore local cities. I would argue that the continuation of *shūgaku ryokō* to Manchuria and Korea over thirty years was enabled by this combination of attractive overseas travel and the easy justification provided by "battlefield inspection."

End of *Shūgaku Ryokō* under the Wartime Regime

What changes did *shūgaku ryokō* undergo in the 1930s, as nationalism increased and a wartime regime was established? One noticeable shift was that visits to Shinto shrines, especially the Ise shrines, and to military facilities, were more actively promoted. When

53 Osa 2007, pp. 339–40.
54 Osa 2007.

Gunma Prefectural Maebashi Middle School 前橋中学校 went on a *shūgaku ryokō* to the Kansai region in April 1939, one year before the 2,600th anniversary of the founding of the imperial reign, the group volunteered for three hours at Kashihara Jingū 橿原神宮 shrine, as part of the Kenkoku Hōshi-tai 建国奉仕隊 (National Foundation Service Team) program. Two years later, in June 1941, students at the same school visited Meiji Jingū 明治神宮, had a tour of Ise, Nara, Kyoto, and Osaka, and volunteered in the Imperial Palace plaza.[55] Such examples suggest that increasing nationalism influenced *shūgaku ryokō*, as practices of reverence for deities and ancestors were added to school excursion aims and itineraries. That said, it is also the case that wartime restrictions on transportation made it increasingly difficult for schools to use the rail network, and volunteer services at the imperial palace or national Shinto shrines may have been useful justifications to make excursions by train.

The beginning of the Pacific War accelerated supply shortages and further tightened restrictions on transportation. This situation brought an end to most *shūgaku ryokō*, yet such tours were not prohibited, and some schools continued to conduct excursions after 1941. For example, the prefectural Nagano Commercial School initially halted *shūgaku ryokō* with the expansion of military conflict, but later restarted them for the stated purpose of visiting Shinto shrines. The party toured the Ise shrines, Kashihara Jingū, Nara, Nagoya, and other places for three days and two nights from 24 October 1942. However, the following year, the school once again discontinued *shūgaku ryokō*.[56]

The above suggests that the ideology of wartime nationalism was not detrimental to *shūgaku ryokō*. This has two implications. On the one hand, it suggests that *shūgaku ryokō* were used in school education as a means to instill nationalistic thought and reverence for deities and ancestors into students. On the other hand, nationalistic ideology was a useful pretext to sustain preexisting touristic *shūgaku ryokō*. The interaction of these two factors meant that school excursions could be, and were, carried out under the wartime regime. Shirahata argues that to understand *shūgaku ryokō* to the Ise shrines, for example, only in terms of nationalist reverence for the imperial family, is over-simplistic. Whatever the stated aim of a school excursion, it is as necessary to recognize the role also played by the motivation to travel and see new places.[57]

Also, although discussions about *shūgaku ryokō* from the 1930s often placed strong emphasis on Shinto shrines, the imperial palace, and military facilities, these places did not suddenly emerge as destinations with the beginning of the wartime regime. On a trip to the Kansai region in 1928, a party from Tokyo Kaisei Middle School 東京開成中学校 took advantage of the chance to sail on the warship *Yamashiro* 山城 from Yokosuka to Ise bay on their outward trip. In 1929, a party from the prefectural Wakayama Middle School undertook a study tour at the naval port of Kure.[58] Such examples are taken from the period before the beginning of total war.

Organized tours of famous Shinto shrines associated with the emperor-centered national polity, as well as military facilities, played a significant role in fostering nationalistic thinking and militarism in young people. This was done without the need to directly mold

55 Suzuki 1983, pp. 139–40.
56 Suzuki 1983, pp. 141–42.
57 Shirahata 1996, pp. 136–38.
58 Suzuki 1983, pp. 133–34.

their physical bodies, as through military training. However, to some extent, such sites were already being selected for *shūgaku ryokō* itineraries from the mid-Meiji period; and therefore, over time, through processes of repetition and social convention, they became established as "must-see" places. This suggests a reason other than military nationalism for why these sites were being visited into the 1930s. Included on excursion itineraries, they helped frame touristic *shūgaku ryokō* as a respectful and serious practice.

Closing Remarks: *Shūgaku Ryokō* in the Postwar and Present

With the end of the Asia-Pacific War, war-devastated railways and severe food shortages prevented most schools from resuming *shūgaku ryokō*. But some secondary educational institutions did carry out excursions relatively soon after the surrender. In 1946, Yamaguchi Prefectural Asa Women's Higher School 厚狭高等女学校 carried out a four-day *shūgaku ryokō* to Matsue and Izumo Taisha shrine, and Gunma Prefectural Takasaki Commercial School 高崎商業学校 went to Nikko. However, it was not until the early 1950s that most schools nationwide restarted *shūgaku ryokō*. Education authorities around the country requested that schools duly consider the economic burden on guardians when resuming *shūgaku ryokō*. Osaka Prefectural Department of Education sent out a notification to this effect in November 1947, as did the chair of the Tokyo Board of Education in March 1950. Meanwhile, schools made efforts to resume excursions by overcoming the transportation and food issues.[59]

While advice from government bodies regarding *shūgaku ryokō* focused more often on the negatives, instructors at schools often worked hard to give their students the opportunities for excursions. These efforts suggest that both instructors and students had a special attachment to *shūgaku ryokō*, and this importance was generally accepted across society. As seen above, there were continuities in touristic *shūgaku ryokō* over the Meiji and Taishō periods, and through prewar and wartime Shōwa. After the war, under the control of General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ-SCAP), the Japanese government promoted educational democratization, and strived to remove evidence of militarism from the field of education. On 15 December 1945, GHQ-SCAP issued the Shinto Directive (Shintō Shirei 神道指令) prohibiting Shinto-based education. The notice that the Ministry of Education sent out seven days later to prefectural authorities and school principals prohibited not only organized shrine visits, but also bowing towards (*yōhai* 遥拝) the Ise, Meiji Jingū, and other shrines. Remarkably, the notice did not prohibit similar expressions of reverence towards the imperial palace, reflecting GHQ-SCAP's decision to utilize the emperor system during the Occupation. While this ruling stopped schools from organizing trips to the Ise shrines, Yamaguchi Prefectural Asa Women's Higher School's 1946 visit to Izumo Taisha suggests that Shinto shrines were not completely ruled out as *shūgaku ryokō* destinations.[60]

Military-related sites were removed from postwar itineraries. Even after the reestablishment of a Japanese military force in the form of the Self-Defense Force, their facilities were not reincorporated as *shūgaku ryokō* destinations. The postwar educational establishment embraced principles of democracy, anti-militarism, and pacifism, and the

59 Suzuki 1983, pp. 151–55.
60 Ōta 2015, pp. 181–89.

Japan Teachers' Union, which had a powerful influence on public schools, was a vocal defender of postwar demilitarization.

As *shūgaku ryokō* became increasingly diversified in the 1980s, a growing number of schools began to incorporate peace education into *shūgaku ryokō*. In peace education, students typically visit sites of wartime devastation in Japan with the aim of understanding the value of peace and engaging with antiwar principles. Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and later Okinawa, became common destinations for this type of school excursion. *Shūgaku ryokō* parties do not make a tour of all these places, but at least one such site is usually included in excursion itineraries. For example, students may visit the Atomic Bomb Dome and the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum alongside tours of Kurashiki 倉敷 and Tsuwano 津和野, see war-related sites in Nagasaki after enjoying themselves in Huis Ten Bosch theme park, or stay overnight at a resort hotel in Onna-son 恩納村 after going to the Himeyuri Memorial Tower in Okinawa.[61] In these common itineraries, tourism-related sites sit comfortably alongside sites related to the primary focus of peace education. It might be argued that the military-related elements of prewar excursions have thus been replaced with peace education in today's *shūgaku ryokō*. As the theme of peace does not exclude women, peace education has also helped to overcome some of the overt gender disparities found in prewar *shūgaku ryokō*.

Based on extant sources, it is hard to confirm the precise reasons for the continuation of *shūgaku ryokō* over such a transformative period. However, it is clear that touristic *shūgaku ryokō* have been strongly, if often implicitly, supported by students, parents, and teachers, and these practices have, at the same time, enjoyed the tacit support of society at different historical moments. Arguably, three factors explain such continued support: first, in the prewar period, *shūgaku ryokō* played an important role as the primary means of tourism for most people. *Shūgaku ryokō* provided opportunities for tourism-oriented trips and excursions in ways that the travel industry did not. Second, teachers and students saw out-of-school activities, including school excursions, as an effective means of recreation able to foster close interpersonal bonds of friendship. It was this desire that motivated schools to resume *shūgaku ryokō* in the postwar period.

The third factor is the close relationship between touristic *shūgaku ryokō* and the military. Visits to military facilities provided educational value to touristic *shūgaku ryokō*, and thereby offered an effective justification for excursion practices. Visits to battlefields in Manchuria and volunteering at Kashihara Jingū and Meiji Jingū were a useful pretext for a mode of *shūgaku ryokō* which emphasized primarily recreation and friendship. In this way, the military played a significant role in sustaining touristic *shūgaku ryokō*. Though present-day activities have been stripped of war and militarism as positive values, the emphasis on peace education means that war and militarism continue, as negative values, to be closely entangled with the Japanese school excursion.

61 For a discussion of postwar tourism to some of these sites, as well as an examination of discourses of "peace" in tourism, see Fukuma's chapter in this special issue.

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War, Firsthand, at a Distance: Battlefield Tourism and Conflicts of Memory in the Multiethnic Japanese Empire

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One of the most important battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) was 203-Meter Hill. Located in the city of Lushun on the tip of the Liaodong Peninsula, 203-Meter Hill also became one of the most important and contested places of memory in the Japanese empire. This article explores the production of collective memories at 203-Meter Hill. It does so from the perspective of Japanese and Korean travelers from the very first student tours in 1906 to the late 1930s. It pays particular attention to how changes in territory and ideology produced changes in commemorative practices. It argues that the history of 203-Meter Hill as a site for producing Japanese national identity is only one part of the battlefield's story. Reading the accounts of Korean travelers alongside those of Japanese travelers, the article shows that the site produced powerful senses of Korean national identity as much as it did Japanese ones.

Keywords: tour guides, collective memory, colonialism, nationalism, 203-Meter Hill, Manchuria, Russo-Japanese War, Kim Kyo-sin, Japan, Korea

Introduction

Battlefield tourism "recruits sympathy" for otherwise ethically murky national projects.[1] One of these projects is nationalism itself. Battlefield tourism sites tell the story of the nation. They ignore the messy realities of the colonial and the local, and do not often acknowledge that battlefield sites are also places of memory for other nations and communities.[2] The results are national imaginaries with terrestrially overlapping yet discursively discrete geographic footprints; a palette upon which yellow and blue never mix to make green.

1 Gonzalez 2013, p. 116.

2 For recent critiques of this approach to battlefield tourism, see Gonzalez 2013; Kelman 2013; and Laderman 2009. Tai (2001) argues compellingly that the "places of memory" approach has excised colonialism from the history of the modern nation. She suggests a return, as I attempt here in modified form, to Halbwachs' (1992) concept of "social frameworks" rather than places as the primary structures of collective memory.

Battlefield sites can be places of memory.[3] But they are unstable ones. Actual places are run through with all sorts of complicating factors: people who identify and are identified with different nations or subject positions for one; changing borders and political structures for another. Treated as its own site of history, the commemorative battlefield reveals the monocular perspective of national history to be but one square of a cubist world. As a physical piece of land, a battlefield exists within a transnational context of intertwined routes and individuals. As an assemblage of commemorative infrastructure, a battlefield tourism site shows how one era's authentic truth changes over time and with its audiences, and how inconvenient facts disappear into the fog of mythic history. As sites of emotional encounter, battlefields elicit introspection and identification from visitors, whose records expose to historians the moments in which they choose to overwrite their own personal experiences with the fictive memory of national history; or, when they choose to do precisely the opposite, and reject the myth in favor of a different identification.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the modern Japanese state created places of memory to foster a shared sense of identity and collective memory among the newly constituted Japanese nation.[4] From the early twentieth century, the Japanese colonial governments in Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria worked with the Ministry of Education and the army to incorporate places of memory for the Japanese nation that were located in recently colonized territories. In particular, the South Manchuria Railway Company (SMR), the ministries of the Army and Education, and the Governor General of the Kwantung Leased Territory promoted the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War in Manchuria as places of memory for the Japanese nation. Encouraging teachers and students to travel to these sites, they used battlefield tourism to inculcate travelers and young people with a sense of patriotic nationalism that encompassed the entire territory of the Japanese Empire.[5]

For many travelers, travel to Russo-Japanese War battlefields produced a shared sense of national experience and affective attachment to Japan's informal colonial territory in Manchuria. For others, however, travel produced competing nationalisms and conflicting subject positions. Among those students and teachers whose participation in battlefield tourism the Ministry of Education and the colonial governments encouraged were elite students, who largely did not fight in the war, and Koreans, who were colonized subjects of the Japanese Empire. Some of these Korean travelers experienced Manchuria and its Russo-Japanese war battlefields not as a place of memory for the Japanese nation but as a place where they could perform, and thus inhabit, a Korean national identity.[6]

Both groups of travelers premised their memories of the battlefields on the implicit and explicit denial of the other. At times these collective memories denied the lived personal experiences of the travelers themselves. Weaving Japanese and Korean accounts of Japan's Manchurian battlefields back together shows how collective memories shifted to address the contradictions between an ideally homogenous national body and an actually unequal

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3 Nora 1989.

4 For example, Fujitani 1996; Takenaka 2015.

5 McDonald 2017; Osa 2007; Ruoff 2010. Some of these materials and their analyses appear in chapter 1 of McDonald 2017.

6 Manchuria also plays a significant role in the landscape of Chinese national memory, both as a site of "national humiliation" and as an opportunity for economic renewal through Japanese tourism. See Cohen 2003; Gao 2001, pp. 226–27; Tamanoi 2006.

society. Travelers used these sites to erase the classed nature of the war experience and to negotiate the conflict between the Japanese state's official embrace of cultural pluralism and its actual denial of Korean history.

A Place of Memory

Soon after the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), the Ministry of Education and the army began to convert southern Manchuria into a place of memory for the Japanese nation. The Kwangtung Army constructed memorial towers at Mt. Hakugyoku 白玉山 and at 203-Meter Hill (Nihyakusan Kōchi 二百三高地). Roads up the hills were improved; soldiers attached to the Kwangtung Army became tour guides; and, by 1909, the South Manchuria Railway Company had produced a tourist guidebook and hired the famous novelist Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 to tour the region and publish his accounts in the *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun* 東京朝日新聞 (Tokyo Asahi Newspaper).[7]

Government and private organizations in Japan sprang into action as well. In 1906, the Ministry of Education and the army sponsored nearly six hundred students and teachers from Tokyo Higher Normal School, Tokyo Prefectural Normal School, and Kagoshima Higher Normal School on a trip to Manchuria and Korea. Two weeks later, the *Tōkyō Asahi shinbun* sent four hundred travelers to the continent.[8] School and individual travel expanded rapidly over the following two decades. Tokyo and Nagasaki higher normal schools sent groups in 1907; Yamaguchi Higher Commercial School sent a group to Manchuria and Korea every year between 1907 and 1911; and Osaka Higher Commercial School sent a group in 1907, 1909, and then every year from 1911 to 1918. By the 1920s, the range of schools expanded considerably to include middle schools, higher girls' schools, higher agricultural schools, and universities. Kyushu's Oita Middle School, for example, sent a group to Manchuria and Korea each year between 1923 and 1930. The groups originated from all over the inner territory: students from Tottori Higher Forestry School traveled to the continent each year between 1926 and 1935, while Shikoku's Kagawa Normal School sponsored a trip nearly every year between 1924 and 1940. Schools in Hokkaido and Okinawa sent groups, as did schools in Taiwan and Korea.[9] As school travel expanded, so did private travel. By 1918, the Japan Tourist Bureau was selling discount travel tickets and preparing itineraries for a growing number of individual Japanese travelers eager to see Korea and Manchuria.

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7 Sōseki 1909. It appears that 203-Meter Hill became a site of battlefield tourism and national commemoration without first serving a more local audience. This differs from Hiroshima and Okinawa. There, memorial museums and battlefield tourist sites began as artifact- and bone-collection sites where locals gathered to remember the dead. The army did host funerals at battlefields during the war. But these were often celebratory affairs, as they offered a break from the fighting. See Figal 2012, pp. 30–32; Schäfer 2008, pp. 155–68; Shimazu 2001, p. 88.

8 Ariyama 2002, pp. 57–58. See also Soyama in this special issue.

9 Manshūkoku shisatsu ryokōki 1935. For an example of intra-colonial school travel, see reports cited below from *Kōyūkaishi* 校友会誌, the Keijō Public Middle School (Keijō Kōritsu Chūgakkō 京城公立中学校) alumni magazine. Technically, the school was open to all students who could pass entrance exams in Japanese. Practically, however, very few Koreans were admitted. For Taiwan, Yokoi Kaori 横井香織 has tracked the travels of the Taihoku Higher Commercial School (Taihoku Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō 台北高等商業学校), whose students took trips to Manchuria and/or Korea almost every year between 1923 and 1942. See Yokoi 2007, pp. 160–62. For statistics on school travel to Manchuria, see Gao 2004, pp. 290–96.

The impetus for this memory work was not the fear that the nation would forget the war.[10] It was that the nation might remember the war too well. The scale and uneven sacrifices that the war demanded prompted intense criticisms of the government and of those who promoted the war as an act that would benefit the entire Japanese nation. The increased taxes to support the war effort fell heavily on the urban lower classes, especially rickshaw pullers and craftsmen, who joined in demonstrations to protest the cost of the war. Parents and neighbors of conscripts made pilgrimages to shrines to pray for the safety of their hometown kids—not, as Naoko Shimazu points out, a necessarily jingoistic act.[11] Poets even inaugurated a new theme for the era. "War-weary poetry" lamented the human costs of the conflict. Emblematic of this style was Yosano Akiko 与謝野晶子, whose poem to her conscripted younger brother, "Kimi shinitamō koto nakare" 君死にたまふことなかれ (You must not die), earned her the opprobrium of the pro-war literary establishment. Ōmachi Keigetsu 大町桂月, himself a poet but of a more conservative bent, called Yosano's poem "unforgiveable as a Japanese citizen (*kokumin* 国民)."[12]

The conflict over the costs and consequences of the war continued even after its conclusion. The Treaty of Portsmouth, which settled the war, transferred to Japan the Russian leasehold and railway concession in southern Manchuria and placed Korea under the guidance of Japan as a "protectorate." But Japan was not granted an indemnity from Russia to cover the extraordinary costs of the war. This practice had been a standard component of previous resolutions between Western and Asian states and had, in fact, even been part of the resolution of the previous Sino-Japanese War. At the news of the settlement's paltry terms, some thirty thousand people in Tokyo gathered in Hibiya Park to demand that the emperor oppose the government and reject the treaty.[13] Protestors overturned streetcars and set fire to police boxes. Clashes with police resulted in nearly one thousand casualties.

The memory of the Russo-Japanese War that tours of southern Manchuria promoted was therefore quite specific. Manchuria would be remembered as a place of national sacrifice. Tourism would disseminate this memory by linking the official historical narrative with personal experience. The idea was that, by traveling to Russo-Japanese War battlefield sites, travelers would gain "authentic" knowledge of the war. The tourist would feel like he or she understood "the truth" of the site in a way that was not accessible to those who had not seen it firsthand.[14] They would then bring this knowledge home to those who could not see the battlefields for themselves. Kanō Jigorō 嘉納治五郎, the principal of Tokyo Higher Normal School, laid out the logic as he dispatched his students to Manchuria and Korea in 1906: "A great many citizens (*kokumin*) know only part of the layout of the battlefields and the conditions of warfare from [reading] a few newspapers or magazines, and the chance to witness the sites of victory are scarce," he wrote. "Because of this, [the great many citizens] are not able to form deep impressions of the war."[15] Kanō situated his charges in contrast: "Those who will become teachers must not stop at simply reading accounts of battles, or gaining information about the [Russo-Japanese War] from conversations with others," he

10 On the term "memory work," see Fujitani et al. 2001, p. 1.

11 Narita 2004, p. 122; Shimazu 2001, p. 75.

12 Quoted in Shimazu 2009, p. 41.

13 Gordon 1991, pp. 26–33; Okamoto 1982.

14 MacCannell 1976, pp. 135–43.

15 *Ryōtō shūgaku ryokōki* 1907, p. 2.

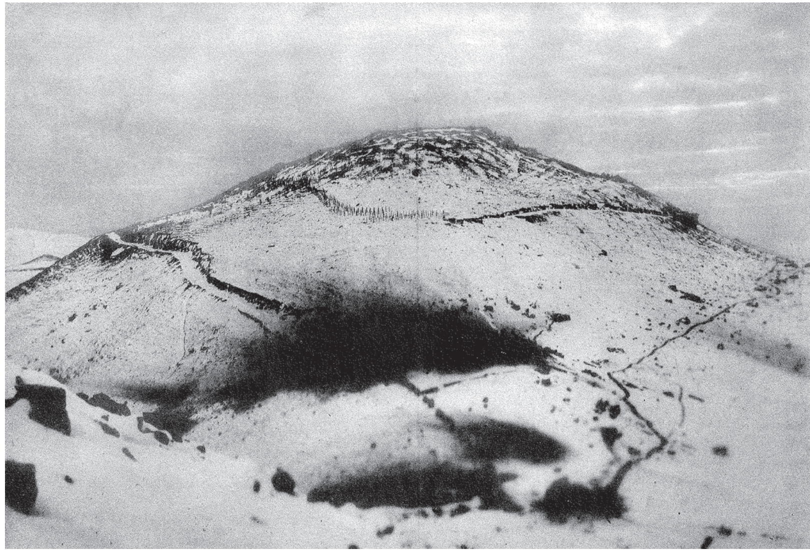

Figure 1. 203-Meter Hill, ca. 1904. Kaigun Gunreibu 1909.

Figure 2. Students from Miyakonojō 都城 Higher Commercial School present their observations from a trip to Manchuria and Korea. The picture shows them posing in front of a map of Korea. Miyazaki-kenritsu Miyakonojō Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō 1931.

exhorted. Rather, "they must go themselves to the battle sites, reflect deeply [on them], and use these materials to enlighten today's subjects and guide the next generation."[16]

They did. The students traveled to the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War. Upon their return, they used their elite status as higher and higher normal school students to amplify their memories. They spoke to their peers, alumni and others interested in hearing what the travelers had learned about Manchuria and Korea. The Tokyo Number One Higher School Travel Club organized exhibitions that displayed photographs and memories of the trip, as well as a lecture series where students presented their findings.[17] Other schools offered public presentations and published reports in alumni magazines. Often running to hundreds of pages, these reports detailed the journey from beginning to end so that they might serve as a blueprint for future travelers. They also included essays on the current state of various industries and institutions, such as elementary education and banking, "not only so that the students' observations (*kenbun* 見聞) might be disseminated, but also because the results of their investigations and research deserve attention."[18] Students who graduated from normal schools and higher normal school would become teachers, in which capacity they were expected to share their authentic observations of the battlefields with the next generation.

Reenacting 203-Meter Hill

203-Meter Hill was the most significant of all the sites student travelers visited. The battle of 203-Meter Hill lasted four months. It cost the lives of over eight thousand Japanese soldiers and six thousand Russian soldiers. It cost other things as well. The failure of the Japanese military leadership to bring the battle to a swift conclusion led to the temporary downfall of General Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典, a hero of the Sino-Japanese War. The general lost his two sons in the battle, too. Ultimately, however, the battle of 203-Meter Hill would be remembered as a great triumph for the Japanese nation. Covered heavily and competitively by the burgeoning national news media, the victory in the battle of 203-Meter Hill quickly became a celebrated moment in the history of the Japanese nation. Largely as a result of 203-Meter Hill, Japan became the first Asian nation in modern world history to defeat a white power.

The terrain of 203-Meter Hill made for a particularly memorable image. Located in the Manchurian city of Lushun 旅順 (Jp. Ryojun; En. Port Arthur) on the tip of the Liaodong Peninsula, 203-Meter Hill rose two hundred and three meters above sea level. It was the highest hill in the area. It was also rocky and barren. Indeed, the hill's strategic value and the battle's tragedy stemmed from this barrenness. Encased in earthen bunkers and surrounded by fences of sharpened planks, Russian guns had an unimpeded view of Japanese forces marching up the hill. Yet the top of the hill afforded an equally unimpeded view of the harbor of Lushun. For this reason, the generals sent wave after wave of Japanese soldiers up the hill. When Japanese forces finally prevailed, they called in the coordinates of the Russian fleet stationed in the harbor below. In short order, artillery behind the hill sunk the Russian fleet. The war was almost over.

16 *Ryōtō shūgaku ryokōki* 1907, p. 2.
17 Ryokōbu buhō 1915, pp. 50–51.
18 Kōbe Kōtō Shōkō Gakkō 1919, preface (not paginated).

Figure 3. "Great Battle for the Occupation of 203-Meter Hill" (*Daigekisen nihyakusan kōchi senryō* 大激戦二百三高地占領) by Kobayashi Kiyochika 小林清親 (1847–1915). Kiyochika's print encapsulates the heroic sacrifice narrative of 203-Meter Hill. Kiyochika emphasized the fortifications at the summit of the hill, perhaps because 203-Meter Hill's barren slopes could not adequately illustrate the challenges that the soldiers overcame. 1905. Woodblock print (*nishiki-e*); ink and color on paper. Catalogue raisonné: Yoshida, Kiyochika (1964), #51. Vertical ōban triptych; 35.4 x 71 cm. Jean S. and Frederic A. Sharf Collection. 2000.77a-c; photograph © 2018 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

When he sent his students to visit the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War, Kanō argued that travel would allow students to "reflect" on the battles and their significance to the Japanese nation. In practice, this reflection took the form of reenactment.[19] Student travelers described how they experienced the battle of 203-Meter Hill vicariously while touring the site. Tour guides assisted them in this endeavor by providing narratives that connected the specific piece of terrain upon which the student travelers stood to the larger narrative of heroic sacrifice and victory at 203-Meter Hill. One member of Tokyo Higher Normal School's English Club described his experience on the hill in these terms:

> According to the officer, the last assault began at five in the morning as planned. Taking advantage of the fast gathering darkness our soldiers pressed on the rampart; but the sword-like hills, the irresistible machine-guns, the scattered bodies of the killed and the wounded were serious impediments to their progress. Now, marching, now stopping, they came always closer to the rampart. Just then strains of our national anthem arose from the left wing of our army. All cleared and encouraged, they overthrew the enemy who now appeared to give way somewhat and sprang over the rampart in high spirits. A hand-to-hand fight ensued and at daybreak our regimental flags of the Rising Sun arose high above the heap of the enemy's dead.

19 Sturken 1997, p. 24.

> Well, our schoolmates, I can imagine how the brave soldiers this time forgot the strain and exertion of the furious attack in the joy of victory and in shouting the deafening "Banzai!" Greatly moved by the officer's lectures and standing still on the traces of this memorable fortress I was quite oblivious of all else and absorbed in deep meditation.[20]

It is difficult to determine the authenticity of the emotion recorded in these accounts. Yet, as Peter Cave and Aaron W. Moore point out, the capacity of discourse to shape thought and self-knowledge means that it is difficult to ascertain the authenticity of emotion even in supposedly private accounts, such as diaries.[21] In this case, the discursive patterns in student travelers' accounts show how "seeing" 203-Meter Hill came to be synonymous with "remembering" the battle of 203-Meter Hill, and how students gauged the authenticity of these memories by the emotions that the reenactments provoked. The Tokyo Higher Normal School student's account would come to be the standard account of Japanese encounters with 203-Meter Hill: the sacrifice of Japanese soldiers trying and re-trying to take the hill; the heroism of the last waves of soldiers as they climbed over the dead bodies of their comrades; and, significantly, the attachment of the mythic narrative of the battle of 203-Meter Hill to the physical site upon which the traveler stood via the traveler's own subjective experience. "I can imagine how the brave soldiers felt," wrote the Tokyo Higher Normal School student. Others made similar statements. "They stood atop that hill. That place is right next to today's memorial tower and viewing platform," wrote a student from Hiroshima Higher Normal School in 1915.[22]

Reenactment on the stage of battle brought the battle's mythic narrative into the bodies of the travelers. It allowed travelers to create personal memories of an event that they had never themselves experienced.[23] The carefully curated landscape contained old cannons and other remnants of the battle that enhanced the authenticity of the scene. In contrast to what travelers would have encountered at a commemorative site such as Yasukuni Shrine, tour guides explicitly directed travelers to imagine the events of their narratives taking place on the terrain on which the travelers now stood.[24] Indeed, the experience of the hill itself encouraged the students to adopt the viewpoint of a soldier in battle. As one Keijō Public Middle School student commented, "If it is this hard to climb the hill on this nice road, it must have been a nightmare to climb it during battle."[25]

Imaginary Battles

More than other forms of tourism, battlefield tourism relies on the imagination.[26] John and Margaret Gold suggest that this is because battlefields often "lack imposing topography."[27]

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20 *Ryōtō shūgaku ryokōki* 1907, pp. 217–18.

21 Cave and Moore 2016.

22 Hiroshima Kōtō Shihan Gakkō 1915, pp. 99–100.

23 White 2004.

24 Takenaka 2015, p. 67. The Yūshūkan 遊就館, the war memorial museum on the grounds of Yasukuni Shrine, displayed relics from the Russo-Japanese War during and after the fighting. The exhibits enjoyed tremendous popularity in 1905 and 1906, with over ten million visitors each year.

25 Hŏ 1935, p. 252.

26 Lloyd 1998, p. 113.

27 Gold and Gold 2003, p. 108.

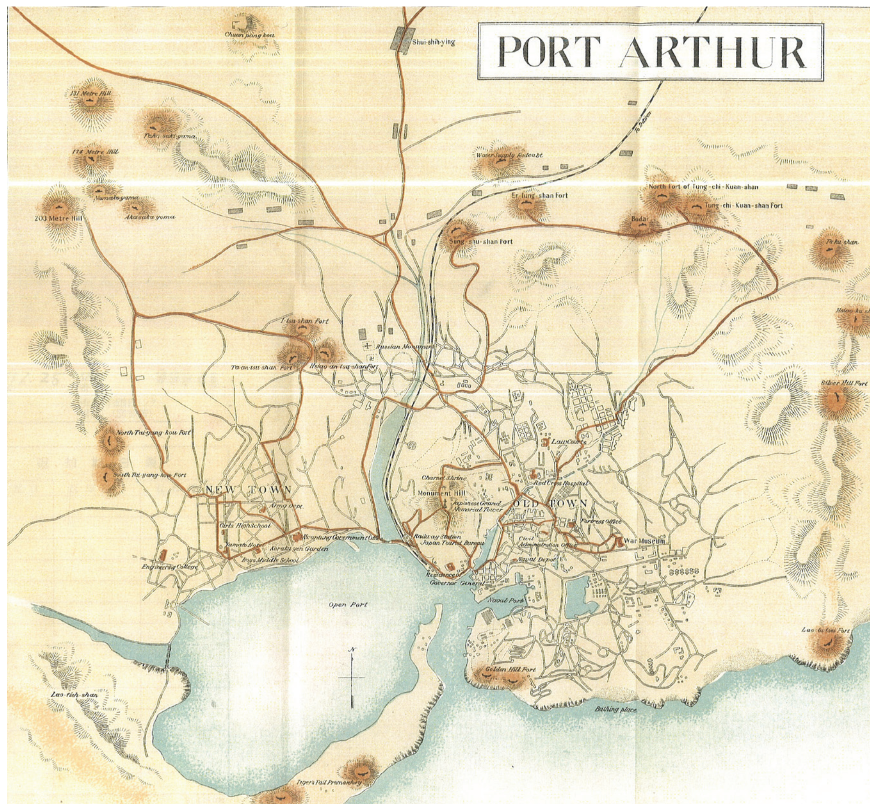

Figure 4. An English-language pamphlet published by the JTB provided an illustrated map of the Russo-Japanese War battlefield sites in Lushun. Japan Tourist Bureau 1918.

But even in the case of 203-Meter Hill, which presented a striking landscape, tour guides encouraged travelers to use their imaginations to make the battlefield dramatic.

Tour guides were a central component of the commemorative infrastructure of 203-Meter Hill. By the late 1930s, tour guides referred to Lushun as "a town of battlefield ruins that no Japanese person can forget."[28] But of course Japanese people could forget. Or, worse, they could reenact a different story of the war, one that perhaps highlighted the meaninglessness of death or the uneven character of the state's demand for such a sacrifice.[29] To ward off this possibility, tour guides performed narratives that kept the theme of patriotic sacrifice front and center. They also played up the authenticity of their own accounts, as many were in fact veterans of the conflict. Over time, as the number of Japanese tourists traveling to Korea and Manchuria grew, tour guiding became its own occupation. Tour guides competed for the most stirring narratives of Lushun's Russo-Japanese War battlefields, and were known for their expertise.[30]

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28 Osa 2007, p. 367. The guide used the term *Nihonjin* 日本人 for "Japanese person."

29 Konishi 2013, pp. 183–87; McDonald 2017, pp. 40–41; Tierney 2015, pp. 96–114.

30 Ruoff 2010, pp. 130–32. See also Hamamoto 1942, pp. 12–13, for a description of the tour guides as performers with particular expertise.

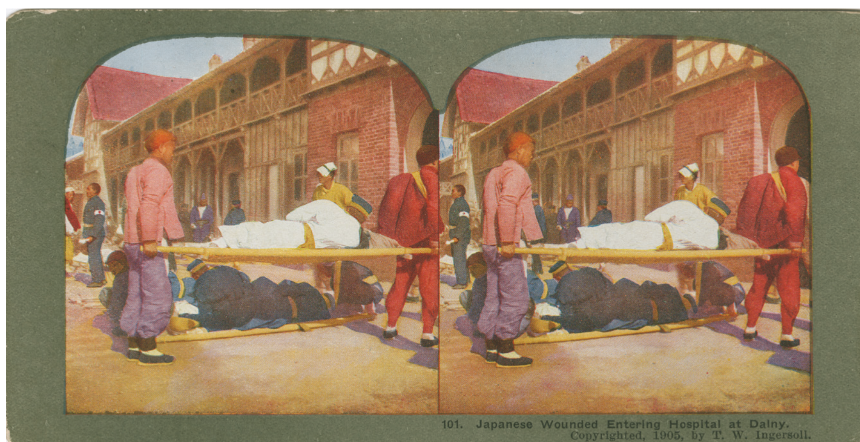

Figure 5. T. W. Ingersoll stereoscope image of Chinese stretcher-bearers in the Russo-Japanese War. 1905. Digital image courtesy of Special Collections and College Archives, Skillman Library, Lafayette College, and the East Asia Image Collection (http://digital.lafayette.edu/collections/eastasia/). Image sv0084.

Tour guides' narratives deeply influenced the observations that travelers brought home. Indeed, we know what the tour guides said only because many travelers quoted them extensively in their reports. This lens also affords us a view of the ways in which the tour guides' narratives transformed the battle of 203-Meter Hill into a narrative of patriotic sacrifice and national glory.

In the context of the early postwar, tour guide narratives were fictive in three important ways, each of which worked to undermine the critique of the Russo-Japanese War as a war of uneven sacrifice and uneven reward. Tour guides told the story of 203-Meter Hill as one of intentional sacrifice and honorable war death.[31] This was not a universal memory of the war. Some returning soldiers, several of whom published their own accounts of the battle, rejected the notion of military death as intentional sacrifice. As Ishimitsu Makiyo 石光真清, a junior officer in the war, wrote, "Death in war is not about dying because one wants to die. One gets killed without really knowing what's going on."[32] In tour guide accounts, however, Japanese soldiers "pressed on" in the face of Russian guns, choosing death over retreat.

Tour guides also enhanced the emotional value of Japanese grit, heroism, and sacrifice by reducing the number of actors in the story. They told the story of the battle as one of a conflict between two great, modern powers—Japan and Russia. China received no mention. The elision of China is striking for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that Manchuria was sovereign Chinese territory at the time of the conflict. Manchurian villagers suffered casualties from Russian and Japanese shelling. Chinese merchants also carried provisions from Dalian 大連 (Jp. Dairen) to the front and sold fresh food to soldiers in the trenches, while the armies paid Chinese workers fifty *sen* or fifty *kopeks* per body to carry the wounded and collect the dead between skirmishes. In a conflict that saw nearly as many

31 Shimazu 2001, p. 70.

32 Ishimitsu Makiyo, "Bōkyō no uta" 望郷の歌, in *Ishimitsu Makiyo no shuki* 石光真清の手記 (Chūō Kōronsha, 1988), p. 668, quoted in Shimazu 2001, p. 81.

deaths from wounds and illness as from combat, Chinese provisions kept the Japanese and Russian armies alive. Chinese labor made it possible to bury the dead.[33]

By far the most potent myth, however, was the myth at the heart of the nationalist narrative itself. This was the idea that the sacrifice that Japanese soldiers made at the hill was a "Japanese" sacrifice, an act of interchangeable agents of the nation, rather than an act of individuals caught in particular webs of relations and socioeconomic structures. As Andrew Elliott argues in his study of Anglophone travel writing during the second Sino-Japanese War, refusing to point out the contradictions, elisions, and ideological purpose of tourist tropes is as important a component of effective propaganda as is reproducing the official narrative.[34] The same can be said for the memory work at 203-Meter Hill. Tour narratives were largely shorn of individualizing details, which might suggest the possibility of an experience that was not transferrable to any willing member of the Japanese nation.[35] Instead, tour guides told the story of the battle as one of "our army" and "the brave soldiers."

The early tours to 203-Meter Hill emphasized the universality of the war experience to promote the memory of the Russo-Japanese War as a shared national sacrifice. This memory homogenized the sacrifice; it cleansed the war of the class distinctions that determined who actually participated in it. Every traveler would have had individual experiences to forget as they put themselves in the shoes of those soldiers climbing bravely up the hill. But it is possible that early student travelers faced a mental challenge more difficult than most. Conscription was a "poor man's lottery."[36] As the next generation of leaders, the government offered elite students special terms of military service, which Kikuchi Kunisaku 菊池邦作 calls "government-authorized draft evasion."[37] This included a six-week service for normal school students and pay-your-own-way volunteer one-year service for other elite school graduates with significant financial resources (in contrast to the three-year terms of other conscripts).[38] If they served at all, students tended to serve in the rear, moving weapons and bodies that would otherwise be contracted out to Chinese laborers.[39] But in writing about their visit to Lushun, these students—even those on the 1906 Tokyo Higher Normal School trip, for whom the war was a recent memory—conveniently elided the uneven demands the state made of its subjects during the war. Instead, they argued that their firsthand encounters with the battlefield gave them the authority to observe the meaning and history of the landscape in a way that those who had only read about it could not: as a tale of patriotic sacrifice.[40]

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33 See the text that accompanies Ingersoll 1905.

34 See Elliott in this special issue.

35 Cipris 2003 (pp. 32–41) notes that Ishikawa Tatsuzō 石川達三 humanized the death and destruction that war demanded by naming characters in his 1938 novel, *Ikite iru heitai* 生きてゐる兵隊 (Soldiers Alive). Censors replaced specific details, such as unit or division names, with generic monikers, such as "the unit." Though the ostensible reason was to protect military information, the censorship of individual distinction effaced the conflicts that shaped each individual's experience of the war. See also Cook 2001.

36 Kikuchi 1977, pp. 110–11, quoted in Shimazu 2001, p. 73.

37 Kikuchi 1977, p. 111.

38 Kikuchi 1977, pp. 176–78, 197, and 427.

39 See, for example, the text that accompanies T. W. Ingersoll's image "A Group of Japanese Students." Image sv0078. East Asia Digital Images Collection. Lafayette College. Easton, PA.

40 The tales were meant to be generic—that is, able to be experienced and embodied by all Japanese travelers. But the variety of rhetorical options available to wartime diary writers suggests that the tour guides modeled their retellings after the rather elite voices who delivered their accounts in elegant and emotional prose rather than providing simple day-by-day account of events. Moore 2013, pp. 30–32.

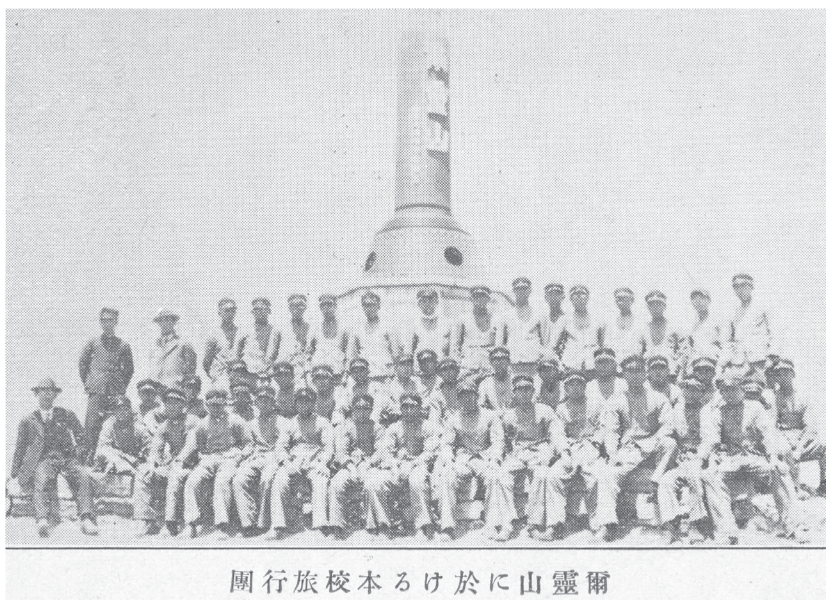

Figure 6. Students from Miyakonojō Higher Commercial School take a commemorative photograph in front of the Nireisan 爾霊山 memorial tower at 203-Meter Hill. Miyazaki-kenritsu Miyakonojō Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō 1931.

Persistence

Paul Connerton once wrote that the significant question is not how collective memories are constructed, but how they are made to persist.[41] This question is particularly interesting in the case of 203-Meter Hill. So many things changed as 203-Meter Hill's "memory industry" took shape.[42] The territory of Japan changed. In 1910, the empire expanded to include Korea. The rise of anti-imperial nationalism and the discourse of self-determination in the colonies motivated changes to the composition of the Japanese nation as well. In colonial policy and official discourse, the ideology of Japanese nationalism and imperialism gradually shifted in the late 1910s and early 1920s from one of assimilation into a "civilized" Japanese core to one of imperial cultural pluralism.[43] The state claimed that the Japanese nation included Korean, Taiwanese Chinese, and indigenous people, as well as Japanese people. At the same time, burgeoning nationalist movements in China and Korea claimed Manchuria and Korea for their own people. In 1919, a Korean independence uprising rocked the Japanese colonial government in Korea. In the late 1920s, the nationalist Kuomintang government made Manchuria a central component of its vision of an independent China. In response, in 1932, members of the Japanese Kwantung Army declared Manchuria's independence from China. They called it the state of Manchukuo.

41 Connerton 1989, pp. 38–40.
42 For statistics on school travel to Manchuria and Korea, see Gao 2004, pp. 290–96.
43 Oguma 2002, pp. 125–42.

Throughout these turbulent times, the memory of 203-Meter Hill as a site of patriotic sacrifice persisted. By 1939, "there were twenty-five tour buses that could each hold twenty-five to thirty passengers providing two tours of Port Arthur per day. The city with the second most buses operating, the nearby city of [Dalian …], had ten."[44] Hori Yasuo 堀保夫, a student on a Keijō Public Middle School trip to Manchuria in 1936, described his arrival at Lushun Station at nine thirty in the morning: "The entrance to the station was jammed with school tour groups from various regions."[45] These travelers heard tour guides tell the story of the battle of 203-Meter Hill in a way that was largely the same as what the original travelers heard in 1906. Yet the way that tour guides fostered emotional connections between travelers, memory, and the land had changed. They encouraged travelers to imagine the soldiers as their ancestors. One unintended consequence of this change was that it opened the door to competing uses of the same idea. Korean nationalists also used ancestry to place 203-Meter Hill in a story of Korean suffering and national emergence. After all, Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War led to the Treaty of Portsmouth, which made Korea a "protectorate" of Japan. This was the first official step toward Japan's colonization of Korea, which took place five years later. More than a place of memory, 203-Meter Hill became a place of many memories.[46]

National Land

In the particular context of Japanese imperialism, student battlefield tourism to Lushun performed an additional ideological function beyond that of producing a shared national memory. It also sought to produce a body of subjects who held affective attachments to a "national land" (*kokudo* 国土) that exceeded the territory of the state: attachments, in other words, to the empire. The Ministry of Education originally intended school field trips to prepare students for military service by teaching them to put their academic knowledge to practical use in the field and to travel as a disciplined group. As Soyama Takeshi 曽山毅 argues in this volume, the ideological function of school travel remained a central component of its practices even as its historical relation to the military was forgotten. Categorizing school travel as education and leisure kept the question of its relation to the military largely out of the public sphere, even in the postwar period.[47]

Equally important was that early tours encouraged Japanese travelers to form emotional attachments to Manchuria, a Chinese territory that Japanese expansionists such as Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平 sought to colonize more formally in the future.[48] The region known to Japanese travelers as "southern Manchuria" (Minami Manshū 南満州) was made up of the Kwangtung Leased Territory (Kantōshū 関東州), within which Lushun was located, and the South Manchuria Railway Zone, which ran from Dalian in the south to Changchun 長春 in the north. Southern Manchuria was not part of the sovereign territory of Japan. Unlike Korea and Taiwan, which Japan had formally colonized, Japan's Manchurian territories were only leased from China. But, minimizing these legal niceties, Japanese imperialists argued that Lushun was part of the history of the Japanese nation because it was here that Japanese

44 Ruoff 2010, p. 131.
45 Hori 1936, p. 127.
46 Podoler and Robinson 2007, pp. 186–96.
47 See Soyama in this special issue.
48 Matsusaka 2001, pp. 81–83.

forces defeated the Russian army and navy and secured for Japan a place among the world's great powers.[49] In 1914, the Manshū Senseki Hozonkai 満州戦跡保存会 (Society to Preserve Manchuria's Battlefield Ruins) made this case when they declared that Manchuria's Russo-Japanese War battlefield sites should be preserved. These sites were essential places of memory for the Japanese nation because they could be used to produce "unwavering loyalty to the national land."[50] The society was not the only organization to deploy this definition of national land. Odauchi Michitoshi's 小田内通敏 1913 geography primer *Waga kokudo* 我が国土 (Our national land), divided the space of the nation into two components: "old" national land (*kyū kokudo* 旧国土) and "new" national land (*shin kokudo* 新国土).[51] The informal colony of Manchuria and the formal colonies of Korea, Taiwan, Hokkaido, and Okinawa all fell into this second category.

The declaration of Manchukuo's independence in 1932 did not in and of itself pose a challenge to the idea that Manchuria was part of the Japanese national land. After all, national land did not refer to a distinct juridical or sovereign territory. Indeed, the idea of a national land that exceeded the boundaries of the territory of the state remained a potent component of Japanese imperialism's spatial politics through the second Sino-Japanese War. By that time, "plans for the national land" (*kokudo keikaku* 国土計画) encapsulated the entire region of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.[52] But as Chinese and international challenges to Japan's "special interests" in the region grew over the 1920s and into the early 1930s, 203-Meter Hill's memory industry adapted its techniques to sustain the emotional attachments of a body of subjects who were a generation or two removed from the conflict for the land itself. In this era, tour guides began to emphasize that the story of the battle was about "your grandfathers" (*sofu sama* 祖父様) as much as it was about "our army." Tour guides encouraged students to imagine the soldiers who had fought at Lushun as their ancestors. The turn to ancestry reflected the manner in which Japanese expansionists claimed that Japan's "special interests" in Manchuria superseded Chinese sovereignty. In the words of Tsurumi Yūsuke 鶴見祐輔, "Manchuria is watered by the blood of Japanese patriots; their graves and battle monuments dot the landscape from Port Arthur to Mukden. The land may belong to China, but it is hallowed soil for the sons of Nippon."[53] Indeed, the Japan Tourist Bureau tour guide who led the students from Keijō Public Middle School on a tour through the battlefields in 1935 made exactly the same case, even though the territory now belonged to the sovereign state of Manchukuo: "The mountains, sea, plains, and rivers of Port Arthur must be eternally sacred ground for us Japanese (*Nihonjin* 日本人)."[54]

Reflecting the varied perspectives of the travelers who toured the hill, "ancestry" and "ancestor" were capacious categories. Sometimes tour guides represented ancestry as a direct

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49 Iriye 1989.
50 Manshū Senseki Hozonkai 1914.
51 Odauchi 1913.
52 Yamamuro 2006, pp. 60–64.
53 Wilson 1999, pp. 185–86. In this English-language speech, Tsurumi uses the transliteration "Nippon."
54 Hŏ 1935, p. 247. The Japanese government regarded the power to issue leases as having been transferred from China to Manchukuo; in other words, Port Arthur was now part of the sovereign territory of Manchukuo. Japan renegotiated its ninety-nine year lease on the Kwantung Leased Territory with the state of Manchukuo at the same time that it transferred the SMR territory to Manchukuo (even though Japan retained Kwantung Leased Territory as a separate administrative unit).

familial tie. As one guide told students at Lushun's Mt. Hakugyoku in the early 1930s, "There were over two thousand bodies that were not recovered. You might have grandfathers or other relations who number among these."[55] Other times, travelers understood ancestry through the regional identities of Edo-period domains. Hamamoto Hiroshi 浜本浩 drew on this kind of ancestry to claim a personal connection to Lushun: "I am a Tosa 土佐 man. Soldiers from Tosa performed distinguished service here. With the feeling that I wanted to walk around proclaiming in a loud voice, 'My teachers and my neighbors died in battle in this place!' I gazed upon the topography of the area."[56]

Other times, students understood ancestry through institutional genealogies. Honma Yoshio 本間義雄, also of the Keijō Public Middle School, recorded his patriotic gratitude toward the soldiers who fought at 203-Meter Hill in 1931. He regarded them as *senpai* 先輩 or senior students. "We always say 'Russo-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War.' But here in this place for the first time I feel gratitude for my senior students soaking into my body," Honma wrote. "The place where we step is a wasteful mountain. A mountain whose shape was transformed by blood and tears."[57] Honma's statement was not jingoistic. He lamented the waste of life that the mountain represented. Nonetheless, he drew a genealogical connection between himself and the soldiers who had died on the hill, and found himself moved by this fictive tie.

Conflicting Ancestries

The many definitions of ancestry that tour guides and travelers deployed suggest that ancestry was a performative identity rather than a biological one. It was perhaps for this reason that neither Tsurumi Yūsuke nor the Japan Tourist Bureau guide referred to Japanese people as *naichijin* 内地人, or "inner-territory people." Rather, they used the term *Nihonjin* 日本人, or "people of Japan." In contrast to *naichijin*, *Nihonjin* was an expansive category that could in theory incorporate all subjects who internalized a self-understanding of their Japanese subjectivity and outwardly performed their loyalty to the Japanese state, regardless of their territory of origin.[58] When he claimed that Lushun was "hallowed soil for the sons of Nippon," Tsurumi thus implied that "we Japanese" could be defined by an adoptive ancestry, a fictive family who shared a genealogical connection to those who died on the hills.[59]

The performative nature of the national ancestry idea intimated that colonized subjects might claim a Japanese ancestry too, at least in the patriotic sense. It also opened the door to the possibility that travelers might adopt conflicting ancestries. Indeed, as successful as battlefield tourism to 203-Meter Hill was in producing Japanese imperial subjects with an affective attachment to tenuously colonized land, it also had the unintended consequence

55 Hŏ 1935, p. 247.
56 Hamamoto 1942, p. 19.
57 Honma 1931, p. 200.
58 Doak 2007, pp. 165, 193, and 148; Morris-Suzuki 1998, pp. 188–89.
59 The Japanese government enshrined the idea of the Japanese nation-state as a "family-state" (*kazoku kokka* 家族国家) in the 1889 Constitution and popularized the ideology through education and military service from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to 1945. Irokawa argues that the Russo-Japanese War cemented this understanding of the relationship between self, nation, and state among soldiers (1985, pp. 295–98). Student travelers would have learned this way of thinking through school textbooks, among other sources.

Table 1. Itinerary from Songdo Higher Common School's 1937 trip to Manchukuo.

DAY #	DATE	DESTINATION	SIGHTS
1	May 18	Songdo–Fushun	Open-air mining; oil refinery
2	May 19	Fushun–Fengtian	Free time
3	May 20	Fengtian	Manchuria Medical School; old town; new town; Manchukuo army training center
4	May 21	Lushun	203-Meter Hill; Museum; Higashi Keikanzan Hill; site of armistice signing
5	May 22	Dalian	Museum, Dalian Harbor; oil-processing Plant
6	May 23	Dalian	Dairen Shrine; South Manchuria Railway Company Hospital; Grand Plaza
7	May 24	Fengtian	Stayed indoors due to bad weather
8	May 25	Andong	Lumber mill
9	May 26	Songdo	Returned home

Source: Woo 2010.

of drawing attention to the conflict between Japanese nationalist and Korean nationalist relationships with Manchurian soil and history. The attention was not just intellectual: after the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo in 1932, Korean schools began to send an increasing number of groups to Manchukuo.[60] Korean students followed the same itineraries as Japanese students. They visited the Japanese-operated coalmine at Fushun 撫順, the capital at Fengtian 奉天 (Mukden), the commercial heart of Japanese Manchuria at Dalian, and the Russo-Japanese War battlefields at Lushun.[61]

Increasing official censorship and informal pressure would have made it difficult for Korean student travelers to critique the idea of adoptive ancestry in official or semi-official Japanese-language public texts, such as reports of school travel published in school magazines. For example, Hŏ Yun 許潤, a Korean student on the 1935 Keijō Public Middle School trip, recorded an account of 203-Meter Hill that differed little from those of his fellow Japanese students, including the guide's mention of lost grandfathers.[62]

But other venues presented different opportunities. As Korean travel to Manchuria expanded in the late 1920s and early 1930s, commentators in Korean newspapers urged Korean travelers to follow itineraries that would promote a Korean nationalist identity,

60 Gao 2002, p. 223.

61 See Woo 2010, table 3, for a sample itinerary from Songdo Higher Common School's 1937 trip to Manchuria. The itinerary is the same as one for Japanese students, with the exception of the direction of travel. Many travelers from Japan arrived directly at Dalian from Moji rather than crossing into Manchuria from Korea. See also Cho 2011.

62 Hŏ 1935, p. 247. The student signed his report "許潤." Moto would be the Japanese reading of the student's surname. Hŏ would be the Korean or Chinese reading. Since Moto / Hŏ was a student at Keijō Public Middle School, I presume that he was Korean. A student with the same name also published a short poem in the student section of the Korean-language newspaper *Maeil shinbo* 每日申報 (Daily News) in 1938 (Hŏ 1938).

Table 2. Suggested itinerary for Manchuria portion of Manchuria–Korea itinerary.

DAY #	DESTINATION	SIGHTS
1	Dalian	Tour city
2	Dalian–Lushun	Battlefield sites
3	Anshan–Fengtian	Tour Anshan Iron Works; Fengtian city tour
4	Fengtian–Fushun	Tour coal mine at Fushun
5	Shinkyō	City tour
6	Fengtian	Transfer to Pusan-bound express
7	Andong–Heijō	Continue to Heijō (Kr. P'yŏngyang)

Source: Japan Tourist Bureau 1935.

rather than a Japanese imperial one. Writing just before the 1931 coup, one journalist in the Korean newspaper *Chosŏn ilbo* 朝鮮日報 (Korea Daily News) criticized the standard itinerary: "Travel to Manchuria is the motto of your trip to this place. With just a detailed tour of Lushun and Dalian, it is more accurate to claim that you visited Japan not Manchuria."[63] Other writers criticized the itinerary's exclusion of what they saw as more authentically Korean sites in Manchuria. "A Korean student visiting Manchuria must learn first about the real life of our compatriots and their farm life, second of the land and the national character of the Chinese, and third of the commercial and industrial development and the education system of the new China," wrote one Fengtian-based reporter for *Tonga ilbo* 東亜日報 (East Asia Daily News) in May 1931.[64]

The Japanification of the Manchuria experience troubled Korean commentators because Manchuria was as much a part of Korean nationalist imaginaries as it was part of the Japanese. Korean nationalist discourse emphasized the centrality of Manchuria to the Korean nation's origins and early history. In the era of the Great Han empire (1897–1910), when King Gojong 高宗 formally renounced Korea's tributary ties to the Qing Empire and declared Korea an independent state, nationalist newspapers made "territorial questions" an "issue of public concern."[65] Manchuria took on a special significance in this context because nationalist histories singled out Manchuria's Mt. Paektu as the birthplace of the god Tan'gun, the mythical progenitor of the Korean nation. In these accounts, the story of Tan'gun served as the foundation for a view of Korean history that took place in Manchuria

63 Quoted in Woo 2010, p. 47. This particular reporter even referred to Manchuria by the Chinese name for the region, 東三省 (Ch. Dongsansheng; Jp. Tōsanshō; En. Three Northeastern Provinces). In the context of the 1930s, this term emphasized the Chinese-ness of the territory by locating it within the administrative structure of the Chinese state. In contrast, the Japanese practice of referring to the region as "Manchuria" emphasized the region's distinct ethnic identity by underscoring its historic significance as the Manchu homeland.

64 Quoted in Woo 2010, p. 47. I wish to thank and acknowledge Miyeong Woo, without whose work I would not have known about Kim Kyo-sin's travels to Manchuria. The discussion of Korean travel to Manchuria draws heavily on her published research. I am also grateful for the work of Eun-Joo Ahn, who translated Woo's article from the original Korean to English.

65 Schmid 2000, p. 221.

as much as it did in Korea. Other historians traced the idea of a Korean state back to the early kingdom of Koguryŏ, which expanded to include much of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia in the fourth and fifth centuries.[66]

In actuality, 203-Meter Hill did not itself play a large role in Korean nationalist imaginaries of Manchuria. But the idea of claiming an ancestral genealogy through the vicarious experience of history at particular territorial markers did. By the early 1930s, Korean nationalists exhorted their compatriots to preserve historic sites related to "national heroes" (*minjokchŏk wiin*). As Gi-Wook Shin writes, "Such attention to exemplary figures from Korea's past was designed to preserve a national consciousness and identity in the face of colonial assimilation policy."[67] As Japanese imperial tourism expanded to include more and more Korean travelers, so too did local efforts to preserve and annotate a specifically Korean canon of sites. Like sites in Manchuria, many of these sites could be incorporated into either Japanese or Korean nationalist historical imaginings. For example, standard itineraries for Japanese tourist travel to Korea included numerous stops at sites related to Toyotomi Hideyoshi's failed 1592 and 1597 invasions of Korea. Official Japanese tourist guidebooks described these sites as evidence of Japan's long-standing commitment to liberate Korea from Chinese influence. In a practice similar to that undertaken at 203-Meter Hill, Japanese travelers created their own memories of these events by reenacting the actions of soldiers on the land itself. A trip to battlefield ruins at Pusan 釜山 (Kr. Busan) prompted the diarist from the Hiroshima Higher Normal School's 1915 travel group to imagine himself in a relationship with the soldiers in Katō Kiyomasa 加藤清正 and Konishi Yukinaga's 小西行長 sixteenth-century armies. Pusan was the site where Hideyoshi's invasion force landed. It was, in his words, a site "where the blood of countless of my countrymen runs."[68]

Sites related to these invasions could also be made to speak to a fierce history of Korean resistance to Japanese invasion, however. In 1931, Yi Kwangsu 李光洙 and the newspaper *Tonga ilbo* organized a series of fundraising campaigns to renovate and preserve the tombs of Admiral Yi Sun-Sin 李舜臣 and General Kwŏn Yul 權慄. Yi and Kwŏn were both heroes of the Imjin War, as Hideyoshi's invasions were known in Korea. Japanese travelers knew of these events as the "Bunroku and Keichō Campaigns" (*Bunroku, Keichō no eki* 文禄・慶長の役).[69] Though Yi Kwangsu became an outspoken proponent of the Japanese regime in the late 1930s, his desire to celebrate Yi Sun-sin and Kwŏn Yul was at odds with the Government General of Korea's dismissal of these figures' historical significance.[70] The Government General of Korea's 1934 *Chōsen ryokō annaiki* 朝鮮旅行案内記 (Guide to Travel in Korea) praised and belittled Yi at the same time, emphasizing his death at the hands of Japanese forces rather than his triumph over the Japanese navy.[71] The guidebook did not direct travelers to visit his tomb, which was located near the popular On'yō 温陽 (Kr. Onyang) hot spring.

It was this anti-imperial nationalist rendering of national land that was on display in the travel account of Kim Kyo-sin. In 1936, Kim led a group of Korean students from

66 Allen 1990; Em 1999; Em 2013; Pai 2000, pp. 63–65; Schmid 1997.
67 Shin 2006, p. 50.
68 Hiroshima Kōtō Shihan Gakkō 1915, p. 140.
69 Shin 2006, pp. 49–50.
70 On Yi Kwangsu as a "pro-Japanese nationalist," see Treat 2012, p. 92.
71 Chōsen Sōtokufu 1934, pp. 29–30, 73–74.

Figure 7. Dongjiguanshan Fortress. Postcard, ca. 1910s. Digital image courtesy of Special Collections and College Archives, Skillman Library, Lafayette College, and the East Asia Image Collection (http://digital.lafayette.edu/collections/eastasia/). Image ip0161.

Yang-Jŏng Higher Common School on a tour of Manchuria. Kim was a graduate of the prestigious Tokyo Higher Normal School, which was one of the first schools to send travelers to Lushun in 1906. He was also a recognized anticolonial activist. He was a member of the Non-Church Movement, a Japanese Christian movement that eschewed clergy and emphasized correcting social injustices. Kim's Tokyo Higher Normal School classmate and outspoken critic of Japanese colonialism Yanaihara Tadao 矢内原忠雄 belonged to the same movement. He was also a member of the editorial board of *Sŏngsŏ Chosŏn* 聖書朝鮮 (Biblical Korea). It was in this capacity that he used his experience of travel to the Russo-Japanese War battlefields to highlight the mechanisms by which imperial and anti-imperial nationalism demanded emotional attachments to historical landscapes that were similar in form but conflicting in content.[72]

While most travelers found themselves swept up in the reenactment of the Russo-Japanese War battles, for Kim the experience was one of deep alienation. Listening to the tour guide's account of the battle of Dongjiguanshan 東鶏冠山 (Jp. Tōkeikanzan), which fell to Japanese forces shortly after 203-Meter Hill, Kim found that the tour guide's intense emotions held up a rather uncomfortable mirror to his own lukewarm nationalism.

> While listening to the story of the sea battle during the blockade of Lushun and the battle at Dongjiguanshan, my pounding heart could not be calmed and noiseless tears welled up in my eyes. Nobody could defeat those soldiers who fought this noble war

72 Lee and de Bary 1997, p. 494.

> with all their might for heaven and for their souls. I felt so ashamed of my frivolous life. Even the tour guide who was narrating these stories appeared like a loyalist and a hero.[73]

Kim's experience at Dongjiguanshan showed him how these places of memory could create a nation through a strong sense of a shared history. For that same reason, it clarified the threat that his own lack of emotion could pose to the future of the Korean nation. Nothing encapsulated Kim's sense of lack than his reaction to the stele of King Kwanggaet'o, whom he referred to as the Hot'ae King of Koguryŏ. Deploying ancestry language similar to that of the Japanese tour guides, Kim wrote: "Viewed the stele of Hot'ae King of Koguryŏ and could not help the fearful feeling that I am a wretched descendent."[74] The stele, which dated from about 414, chronicled the Kingdom of Wa's invasion of the southern Korean Peninsula in the fourth century. When Japanese archaeologists discovered it in the late nineteenth century, they argued that it was the best evidence that this invasion, which was and is still highly disputed, actually took place. They celebrated it as a commemorative monument to fifteen hundred years of Japanese colonialism in Korea.[75]

Kim lamented his lack of a powerful emotional response to the stele. Referring to his friend Ham Sŏkhŏn 咸錫憲, Kim wrote, "I feel sorry for Ham in that I could not feel sufficient passion towards his Korean history […]."[76] Ham, like Kim, was an anticolonial activist and prominent member of the Non-Church Movement in Korea. He was at that moment writing a history of Korea entitled, *A Korean History from a Spiritual Perspective*.[77] Like other, earlier Korean nationalist histories, Ham's history dwelled on the centrality of Manchuria to the history and spirit of the Korean nation. But unlike other nationalist histories, Ham located the uniqueness of the Korean nation not in its triumphs, but rather in its suffering.[78] In contrast to Japanese archaeologists, Ham saw the Kingdom of Wa's invasion as the beginning of fifteen hundred years of Korean hardship.[79] Kim castigated himself for not feeling the suffering of the Korean nation, especially as he compared himself to the Japanese tour guide, whose emotional exertions made him a "loyalist and a hero." For Kim, the experience of the battlefields at Lushun was deeply troubling. It highlighted his distance not only from Japanese imperial nationalism, but from Korean nationalism as well.

Conclusion

Japanese travelers to 203-Meter Hill reenacted a fictive past in the service of actualizing a communal, living present. These memorial practices emerged out of the specific context

73 Kim 1936, p. 16, quoted in Woo 2010, p. 63.

74 Kim 1936, p. 16, quoted in Woo 2010, p. 63.

75 Pai 2000, pp. 26–27.

76 Kim 1936, p. 16, quoted in Woo 2010, p. 62.

77 Later published in English as *Queen of Suffering: A Spiritual History of Korea*. Philadelphia: Friends World Committee for Consultation, 1985.

78 Kim 2016, p. 158. In referring to Ham's history as "nationalist," I am drawing on Henry Em's (2013, p. 202, note 110) broad definition of nationalist historiography as "histories written as a narrative of resistance to colonial rule, devoted to countering the pernicious effects of colonialist historiography and to empowering Koreans to join the struggle for Korea's independence." While Ham's work, which was guided by a Christian philosophy, contained elements that cannot easily be described as nationalist, it also sought to further the anticolonial movement and promote the idea of Korea as nation with a unique role to play in world history.

79 Lee and de Bary 1997, pp. 412–16, esp. p. 414. Note that Ham refers to the "fifteen centuries following the Three Kingdoms" as the era of Korean suffering.

of the contested nature of Japan's Manchurian claims after the Russo-Japanese War and the class conflict that fueled protests during and after the war. In the first years of Japanese imperial travel to the Russo-Japanese War battlefields in Manchuria, conflicts of memory emerged out of the attempt to flatten the classed experience of war into a homogenous national memory of patriotic sacrifice. In the decades that followed, tour guides and travelers adopted new practices. These practices, which focused on the concept of ancestry, created opportunities for a multiethnic and multigenerational body of subjects to claim personal ties to sovereign Chinese territory and, after 1932, the territory of the putatively independent state of Manchukuo. Guides encouraged travelers to adopt a particular ancestry that tied them to the soldiers who died on the battlefield. They constituted Manchuria as a sacred site of Japanese history. This shift in memorial practices was directly related to the problem of producing a collective memory for a multiethnic nation.

The process was not total. There remained ample room for subjects, metropolitan and colonized alike, to question their own participation in the collective memory of the nation and empire. Ham Sŏkhŏn encouraged Kim Kyo-sin to claim a Korean ancestry and national land that emanated from the same land that Japanese tour guides claimed as sacred for the Japanese nation. Others rejected the proposed affective connection entirely. Writing about a different battlefield tourist site, that of Fengtian after the 1931 Manchurian (Mukden) Incident, Nakanishi Inosuke 中西伊之助 reported a fellow traveler's response to the celebration of dead Chinese soldiers and the sacrifice of Japanese troops: "The politicians did this. They should all go to jail."[80]

Japanese imperial claims to Manchuria ended in 1945. Yet the work of maintaining 203-Meter Hill as a place of memory for the Japanese nation continues to this day. In an age in which conservative commentators lament that Japanese citizens have "stiffened" to a view of modern Japanese history as one of defeat and humiliation, the Port Arthur battlefields, which exemplify triumphant nationalism, remain a popular if improbable tourist site as well as an object of patriotic reenactment.[81] Shiba Ryōtarō's 司馬遼太郎 best-selling historical novel about the Russo-Japanese War, *Saka no ue no kumo* 坂の上の雲 (The Clouds Above the Hill, 1979), tells a story of 203-Meter Hill that early Japanese tour guides would have found familiar. The novel mythologizes the "heroic fights to the death" and "impressive bravery" of Japanese soldiers, who, Shiba writes, "felt no distress" over being made into agents of an unwavering Japanese state. Rather they felt a "collective excitement over their ability to participate in the nation for the first time."[82] Shiba's title refers to the clouds parting above 203-Meter Hill after it had been captured by Japanese soldiers, exposing the Russian ships in Lushun harbor below that would soon be destroyed by Japanese artillery directed from the hilltop. In 2006, NHK dramatized the novel. Japanese tourism to Lushun boomed as a result.[83]

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80 Nakanishi 1936, p. 174. It is also likely that participants in the battle, whether soldiers or laborers, carried with them traumatic memories of the event that could be triggered by everyday sights, smells, and sounds even years later. On the ways in which local Okinawans remember and re-remember the Battle of Okinawa, see Nelson 2008, pp. 3–5.

81 Kawamura 2004, p. 218.

82 Shiba 2014, pp. 18, 20.

83 Takayama 2012, p. 159. The 1980 Toshi Masuda film, *203 kōchi* 二百三高地 (The Battle of Port Arthur) tells a similar story of heroic sacrifice and triumph on the battlefield.

The memories that battlefield tourism produces are "an ideological compass for the present."[84] In this context, treating 203-Meter Hill as a place of many memories rather than a place of memory is more than just an exercise in rhetoric. It is a necessary intervention. Though the ongoing occupation of contested territory is no longer an issue, the 203-Meter Hill experience continues to valorize death in battle, erase Chinese participation and sacrifice, and collapse class difference and the state's uneven demands into a mythic story of Japanese national sacrifice. Stories like Kim's point to a different history of 203-Meter Hill. Kim saw Japanese battlefield tourism as an attempt to erase a way of encountering Manchuria that he believed to be uniquely Korean, even if he could not find it in himself to reenact this history as his own. For Kim, nationalism was as troubling as it was triumphant; it was compelling but also coerced. One can presume that there are more stories to be told. The challenge for historians is to find them.

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84 Chronis 2012, p. 1812.

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National Rail and Tourism from the Russo-Japanese War to the Asia-Pacific War: The Rise and Fall of a Business Approach to Rail Management[1]

OIKAWA Yoshinobu

Through analysis of changes in the passenger transport policies of national rail from the Russo-Japanese War to the Asia-Pacific War, this article provides insights into how war affected the shape of tourism, in particular rail-based tourism, of modern Japan. It finds that international tourism increased and domestic travel/tourism spread between the Russo-Japanese War and the interwar period, giving rise to Japan's greatest pre-1945 tourism boom. This boom continued despite Japan's deepening isolation in the 1930s following the Manchuria (Mukden) Incident and withdrawal from the League of Nations. Head of sales at the Railway Bureau's Transportation Department, Kinoshita Yoshio, established a "business approach" to the transportation system, which put the promotion of leisure travel at the center of policy decisions. However, following the full-scale outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the situation changed dramatically. Use of the rail network for military-related transportation surged, and long-distance limited express services, sleepers, and dining cars were phased out as the national railway switched to a national policy-oriented transportation system. While mountain climbing, pilgrimage to sacred sites, and other forms of travel were encouraged, the idea of "travel for the sake of travel" that underpinned the interwar tourism boom was abandoned. As this demonstrates, war was a productive force in the development of mass tourism—especially pleasure tourism—until the outbreak of full-scale war with China; but the beginning of the Asia-Pacific War, while giving rise to new forms of tourism seen to benefit the wartime state, had a generally restrictive effect on tourism.

Keywords: National Railway, Russo-Japanese War, second Sino-Japanese War, Asia-Pacific War, Kinoshita Toshio, tourism boom, democratization of travel (tourism), international tourism promotion, national policy

1 This work was supported in part by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 17H02253.

Introduction

In January 2016, a temporary exhibition on a fascinating, if somewhat uncommon, theme opened at the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo. Entitled *Yōkoso Nihon e: 1920–30 nendai no tsūrizumu to dezain* ようこそ日本へ: 1920–30年代のツーリズムとデザイン (Visit Japan: Tourism Promotion in the 1920s and 1930s), the exhibition focused on the so-called interwar period of the 1920s and 1930s, when Japan enjoyed a massive tourist boom in the years before the outbreak of World War II. During this period, the Japan Tourist Bureau (Japan Tsūrisuto Byūrō ジャパン・ツーリスト・ビューロー), established in 1912, and the Board of Tourist Industry (Kokusai Kankō Kyoku 国際観光局), established in 1930, made efforts to increase inbound tourist numbers. At the same time, public and private organizations such as the Ministry of Railways (Tetsudōshō 鉄道省), the South Manchuria Railway Company (Minami Manshū Testudō 南満洲鉄道), Japan Mail Shipping Line (Nippon Yūsen 日本郵船), and the Osaka Shosen shipping company (Ōsaka Shōsen Kaisha 大阪商船会社, or OSK) mobilized a large cohort of painters, illustrators, and designers. Artists such as Yoshida Hatsusaburō 吉田初三郎, Sugiura Hisui 杉浦非水, Kita Renzō 北蓮蔵, and Itō Jūnzō 伊藤順三 produced tourist posters, which helped to transmit an image of "beautiful Japan" (*utsukushii Nihon* 美しい日本) to international audiences. As the *Visit Japan* exhibition guide argues, by paying attention to such posters, we can understand the prevalent self-images of imperial Japan during the 1920s and 1930s.[2]

The tourist boom that occurred during these decades involved not only foreign tourists, but larger numbers of Japanese too. After the Russo-Japanese War and through World War I, Japan experienced massive urban development. In cities like Tokyo and Osaka, this entailed an expansion of professional, salaried occupations, including office workers, civil servants, doctors, lawyers, and teachers. This new middle class increasingly saw tourism as a regular part of their lives. Akai Shōji 赤井正二, discussing the tourist practices that emerged in the modern period, argues that a shift in the motivations for a journey was key. Rather than leisure activities being subsidiary to a business trip or a visit to relatives and friends, "travel" itself became the objective, and practitioners enjoyed a large degree of freedom in choosing when, where, and with whom they traveled. The idea of "travel for travel's sake" took root, which led in turn to the popularization of travel (tourism) as a mass social practice.[3]

One obvious reason for this tourist boom was the expansion of transportation infrastructures, especially rail and steamship links, across East Asia. Table 1 compares the length of operational rail tracks in Japan with Great Britain, the U.S., Germany, France, and Italy between 1926 and 1938. Although those in Europe and America show little change, the rail network in Japan expanded from 12,864 to 18,179 kilometers. This 40 percent increase in the rail network between World War I and World War II was one factor in the interwar tourist boom. On the one hand, rail moved large numbers of people at high speeds over long distances, and thus it helped expand the range and scope of tourist travel; on the other hand, tourists were an important source of revenue for the rail industry, and policies to attract them were thus developed.[4]

2 Kida 2016, pp. 6–10.
3 See Akai 2016, especially the introduction.
4 See Soyama 2003. Soyama uses colonial Taiwan as a case study to explore how the improvement of transportation infrastructure through the building of rail lines led to the development of modern tourism in the territory.

Table 1. International comparison of operational rail lines.

YEAR	JAPAN	GREAT BRITAIN	U.S.	GERMANY	FRANCE	ITALY
1926	12,864	31,066	401,403	53,336	41,679	16,549
1927	13,394	31,056	405,087	53,546	41,682	16,482
1928	13,695	31,029	406,170	53,667	41,725	16,547
1929	14,152	31,004	408,256	53,820	41,845	16,640
1930	14,575	31,001	409,585	53,821	42,394	16,720
1931	15,014	30,957	418,246	53,857	42,541	16,846
1932	15,372	30,929	416,927	53,885	42,536	16,886
1933	15,845	30,913	387,259	53,880	42,609	16,904
1934	16,535	30,854	384,555	53,883	42,443	16,959
1935	17,138	30,798	382,915	54,240	42,451	—
1936	17,530	30,695	381,219	54,375	42,473	16,653
1937	17,934	30,663	378,802	54,464	42,490	16,840
1938	18,179	30,643	377,363	61,328	42,612	16,170

Note: Data on Britain, U.S.A., Germany, and France are from Tetsudōshō Unyu Kyoku 1940. Data on Japan are from Unyu Keizai Kenkyū Sentā 1979.
In the case of Japan, figures are for national rail lines only and are calculated on the length of tracks in operation at the end of the year. For rail lines elsewhere, figures show the average length of tracks in operation that year.

This paper investigates passenger service policy developed by the national rail authorities over a period stretching from the Russo-Japanese War, through World War I, to the second Sino-Japanese War and the Asia-Pacific War. It seeks to assess and clarify the extent to which war affected tourism. Significant previous studies by Takaoka Hiroyuki 高岡裕之 (1993) and Kenneth J. Ruoff (2010) have considered this problem in terms of the 1937–1945 period. Noting the continuation of leisure activities such as mountain climbing and hiking into the war years, Takaoka suggests that tourism did not continue *in spite of* the war; rather, tourism expanded *because of* the war. Similarly, while Ruoff acknowledges that the outbreak of all-out conflict between Japan and China on 7 July 1937 did result in a

change in the direction of rail policy, he underlines the fact that tourism was still booming into 1940.[5] These are fascinating, and important, findings. However, they are mainly based on studies of the years after 1937, and Ruoff especially focuses on 1940, the year of the 2,600th anniversary of the founding of the imperial line. As a result, the real damage that the second Sino-Japanese War dealt to tourism is arguably underplayed. In order to evaluate accurately the influence of the war in China on tourism, it is useful to investigate a broader span of time.

By taking a wide historical perspective, from the early development of rail passenger services after the Russo-Japanese War through the interwar tourist boom and into the Asia-Pacific War, this paper reveals the second Sino-Japanese War as a turning point, generating a significant transformation in the direction of national rail policy.[6] While it is clear that rail transportation was used for both leisure and military purposes, the beginning of full-scale war in China resulted in an increase in the relative importance of military transportation and a concomitant reduction in the range and size of rail travel for tourism. In arguing that leisure travel underwent an undeniable and important change from 1937, this paper does not claim that tourism disappeared, nor does it argue for the incompatibility of tourism and war. Rather, its interest lies in clarifying how tourism changed with the beginning of war, and the relationship of these changes to the direction of national rail policy.

Passenger Services and the Formation of the Imperial Rail Network

Passenger Services and the Russo-Japanese War

In January 1904, just prior to the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), a law came into effect that mobilized all railways—public and private—for military use (Tetsudō Gunji Kyōyō Rei 鉄道軍事供用令). During the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), the cost of rail travel for the military had been set at half the regular rate, but for this later conflict, first and second-class tickets were fixed at 1 *sen* 銭 per mile, and third-class tickets at 5 *rin* 厘 per mile. Companies such as Nippon Railway (Nippon Tetsudō 日本鉄道) and San'yō Railway (San'yō Tetsudō 山陽鉄道) that operated extensive rail networks found military utilization to be a profitable venture.[7]

Military rail transportation negatively impacted passenger services for nonmilitary purposes as it entailed intensive and large-scale movement of troops and supplies. During peacetime, a journey by train from Tokyo to Osaka on the Tōkaidō 東海道 line took 14 hours 13 minutes, and 14 hours 39 minutes from Ueno 上野 to Morioka 盛岡 on Nippon Railway. During the Russo-Japanese War, these journeys could take up to 26 hours.[8] At the same time, rail authorities tried to reduce the disruption to nonmilitary travelers where they could: lulls in military transportation were used to run regular passenger services, for

5 Takaoka 1993, p. 10. Ruoff 2010.

6 Nakamura Hiroshi 中村宏 explores divergences in approaches to tourism between different branches of government in this period, including the Ministry of Railways and the Home Ministry (Naimushō 内務省). But he argues for the second Sino-Japanese War as a turning-point in the underlying direction of tourism policy, when international tourism came to be understood increasingly as a useful propaganda tool, rather than primarily in economic terms; see Nakamura 2007. Also, see the paper by Andrew Elliott in this special issue.

7 Tetsudō Jihō Kyoku 1904.

8 Ōe 1976, p. 515.

Table 2. Report on railway usage of travelers to sightseeing spots, shrines, and temples during the Russo-Japanese War.

RAIL COMPANY OR LINE	EFFECTS ON PASSENGER NUMBERS*
Hokkaido Railway (北海道鉄道)	Unknown.
Nippon Railway	No decline in passengers to shrines, temples, or sightseeing spots.
Kōzuke Railway (上野鉄道)	Decrease on some lines, increase on others (for example, lines to Yamana Hachimangū 山名八幡宮 and Ichinomiya Nukisaki Jinja 一宮貫前神社 shrines). Overall, no change.
Jōmō Railway (上毛鉄道)	Increase evident.
Kawagoe Railway (川越鉄道)	No decline.
Sōbu Railway (総武鉄道)	Passenger visiting shrines stable. Sightseers increased slightly.
Bōsō Railway (房総鉄道)	Slight decline.
Narita Railway (成田鉄道)	15 percent passenger increase to Fudō 不動 temple.
Kōbu Railway (甲武鉄道)	Slight decrease.
Nanao Railway (七尾鉄道)	50 percent decline on routes to shrines, temples, or sightseeing spots compared to average year.
Ōmi Railway (近江鉄道)	30 percent decline on routes to shrines and temples. Few sightseers evident. However, surveys carried out at shrines and temples suggest a 50 percent increase in visitors. Need to observe conditions more widely.
Sangū Railway (参宮鉄道)	A clear decline, but difficult to quantify.
Kyoto Railway (京都鉄道)	Increase in sightseers from last year.
Nankai Railway (南海鉄道)	Increase in passengers to shrines, temples, and sightseeing spots.
San'yō Railway	Approx. 50 percent decline in leisure passengers, but significant increase in military transportation. More than 50 percent increase overall.
Iyo Railway (伊予鉄道)	No noticable decline.
Hakata-wan Railway (博多湾鉄道)	20 percent decline in sightseers, but numbers were exceptionally high last year.
Ōu line (奥羽線)	Approx. 50 percent decrease compared to average year.
Chūōtō line (中央東線)	Approx. 50 percent decline in passengers to shrines, temples, and sightseeing spots on usual year.
Tōkaidō line (東海道線)	Decrease but difficult to quantify.
Kagoshima line (鹿児島線)	Compared to average year, 30 percent passenger increase to shrines and temples. Slight decline in tourists to countryside, but visitors traveling to see forestry and mining works have been growing yearly, and particularly increased after the start of the war. No change in passengers to onsen.
Taiwan Railway (台湾鉄道)	No reduction.

* Apart from where noted, change is relative to previous year.
Source: Tetsudō Jihō Kyoku 1905a, 1905b, 1905c.

example, while "out of service" trains returning from troop disembarkation were put to civilian use.[9]

In May 1905, the Railway Times Bureau (Tetsudō Jihō Kyoku 鉄道時報局) investigated the impact of wartime disruption on travelers to sightseeing spots, shrines, and temples on sixteen private lines, four government-run lines, as well as rail lines in Taiwan. The results of this qualitative survey (see table 2) show quite diverse effects: San'yō Railway reported that leisure passenger numbers were half that of usual, Nippon Railway reported that there was no reduction in numbers, and the government-run Tōkaidō line that numbers were reduced but to an uncertain degree. Narita Railway noted a 15 percent increase in passengers traveling to the Narita Fudō 成田不動 temple compared to the same period the previous year, while Nanao Railway, in the Hokuriku 北陸 region, noted a 50 percent *decrease* from the usual number of leisure passengers.

By the time the Russo-Japanese War broke out, it was possible to travel by train from Aomori 青森 in the north of Honshu to Shimonoseki 下関 in the south, and the main naval ports like Kure 呉 and Sasebo 佐世保 were already fully connected to the rail network. Therefore, when compared to the first Sino-Japanese War, military transportation by rail was possible on a much larger scale.[10] Nevertheless, it appears that the impact of rail's military mobilization on leisure passengers was, even during a conflict termed the first total war, relatively small.

In March 1906, six months after the formal cessation of conflict between Japan and Imperial Russia, the Railway Nationalization Act (Tetsudō Kokuyū Hō 鉄道国有法) was enacted. From October 1906 to October 1907, seventeen private rail companies, including Hokkaido Colliery and Railway (Hokkaidō Tankō Tetsudō 北海道炭礦鉄道), Nippon Railway, Kansai Railway (Kansai Tetsudō 関西鉄道), San'yō Railway, and Kyushu Railway (Kyūshū Tetsudō 九州鉄道), were brought under national control. This law created in one fell swoop a massive national rail company that possessed 3,004 miles of track (or 4,844 kilometers, including lines not yet in operation), 1,118 locomotives, 3,067 passenger cars, 28,884 freight cars, and 48,409 employees.[11] Concomitant with this takeover, structural reorganization was carried out. The national railway was first placed, in April 1907, under the control of a new department in the Ministry of Communications (Teishinshō 逓信省), the Imperial Government Railways Department (Teikoku Tetsudōchō 帝国鉄道庁). Then, in December of the following year, control was given to the Railway Bureau (Tetsudōin 鉄道院), a department under direct cabinet supervision. Finally, from May 1920, the national railway was administered by the Ministry of Railways.[12]

National Rail and Transportation Reform

In a diary entry from 30 June 1905, the president of Mitsui Bussan 三井物産, Masuda Takashi 益田孝, records a request he made to Hara Takashi 原敬 and Matsuda Masahisa 松田正久 of the Seiyūkai 政友会 political party to "nationalize the railways and install

9 Nihon Kokuyū Tetsudō 1971a, p. 564.
10 Nihon Kokuyū Tetsudō 1971a, p. 79.
11 Oikawa 2014, pp. 211–12.
12 After coming under control of the Ministry of Railways, the national railway was commonly referred to as "Japanese Government Railways" in English-language publications.

broad-gauge tracks" should reparations be obtained after the war.[13] There was support for such a plan in economic circles as well: after consideration of the prospects for postwar development, demands were made for the unification of the rail transportation systems through nationalization, and the strengthening of transportation capacity via a broad-gauge railway policy. The latter was not realized, but in unifying the rail network, nationalization brought immediate benefits to passenger as well as freight services, as figure 1 shows.

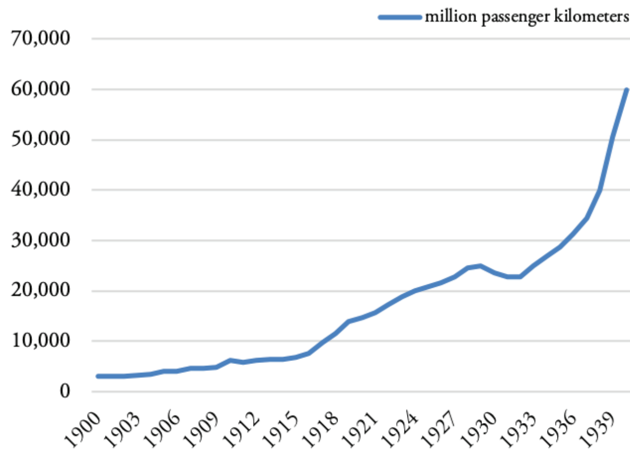
A key reason for the expansion of the network was revisions to the fare system for rail passengers. Before nationalization, each rail company set its own fares, resulting in nineteen different systems. But from 1 November 1907, the new national railway unified rates and decreased fares across its network. In moves designed to benefit long-haul rail passengers directly, fares were reduced at the rate of one *rin* for every mile traveled on journeys over fifty miles, and prices for first- and second-class tickets were lowered. In addition, from April 1906, a new fare system for express trains came into effect, first on the Tōkaidō main line between Shinbashi 新橋 and Kobe, then later on the San'in 山陰, Kyushu, Tōhoku 東北, and Hokkaido lines. In June 1912, with the opening of the Shinbashi–Shimonoseki limited express service, this system was revised again. While the fare on limited express trains rose after 400 miles of travel, on regular express trains rates were fixed irrespective of distance. At the same time, other services for rail passengers were introduced, including season tickets (*teiki jōsha ken* 定期乗車券), coupon tickets (*kaisū ken* 回数券), and group tickets (*dantai jōsha ken* 団体乗車券). Season and coupon tickets were convenient for those commuting to work or school from the suburbs by train, as well as leisure travelers, but group fares were expressly designed for the benefit of those traveling long distances by rail.[14]

When they were first introduced, the discount offered on group fare tickets stayed the same throughout the year, and there was a tendency for group rail travel to be overly concentrated in spring, a popular time for sightseeing and other leisure pursuits. From 1913, the system was changed to allow shifting rates of discounts in an attempt to stimulate group rail travel at times of the year when non-leisure travel was slow. Group fare tickets were divided into different categories, including normal groups (*futsū dantai* 普通団体), student groups (*gakusei dantai* 学生団体), and worker groups (*shokkō dantai* 職工団体). In terms of the latter category, fares were kept at a low price in order to give workers a chance "to escape the daily grind by getting out into the countryside and reviving mind and body."[15] Other types of group fare tickets were sightseeing tickets (*yūran ken* 遊覧券), which were 20 percent cheaper than regular fares, and excursion tickets (*kaiyū ken* 回遊券), which were 30 to 50 percent cheaper than regular fares and were designed for "tours to scenic spots, shrines, temples, and the like."[16]

The Railway Bureau also began marketing the *Man–Kan junyū ken* 満韓巡遊券, a combined rail and boat ticket for round-trips to the continent. Travelers departed their station of choice and traveled by rail to Shimonoseki, where they picked up the connecting steamship to Pusan 釜山 (Kr. Busan). From there, they toured Korea and Manchuria on trains operated by the Government Railways of Chosen (Chōsen Sōtokufu Tetsudōkyoku

13 Hara 1965, p. 140.
14 Tetsudōshō 1920, pp. 159–64.
15 Tetsudōshō 1920, pp. 164–66.
16 Tetsudōshō 1920, p. 168.

Figure 1. Increases in rail passenger services from 1900 to 1939.



Source: Unyu Keizai Kenkyū Sentā 1979.

Sen 朝鮮総督府鉄道局線) and South Manchuria Railways. Finally, boarding an OSK steamship in Dalian 大連 (Jp. Dairen), travelers returned to Japan via Shimonoseki, Moji 門司, or Kobe. These tickets were valid for sixty days, and were 30 percent cheaper than the regular fare.[17] Through the process of rail nationalization, the Railway Bureau assumed control not only of domestic rail lines, but also of rail lines in Korea and Manchuria. As a result, it was possible to establish tourist routes that connected formal and informal colonial possessions with the main islands.

Compared to rail systems in industrialized Western nations, transportation capacity in Japan was limited by narrow-gauge tracks and a plethora of slopes and bends. Nevertheless, after nationalization, capacity was strengthened through four major reforms: 1. increased speed of trains; 2. increased number of services; 3. improved precision of timetables; and 4. improved equipment. In particular, with unification of the network, systems for managing timetables and the utilization of carriages were simplified, allowing an increase in the number of through-services and a reduction in stopping times. As noted above, express services also went into operation on the trunk line, beginning with the Tōkaidō main line and the San'yō and Tōhoku lines. Then, from May 1912, a limited express service started between Shinbashi and Shimonoseki, reducing the journey from twenty-nine to twenty-six hours.[18]

The number and range of passenger services increased significantly as well. There were 4,376 miles of track in operation for passenger services in 1907. Less than ten years later, in 1916, this had increased to 5,551 miles. Over this period, the number of services increased by 27 percent, leading to claims that, "Our railway has achieved equality with the railways

17 Tetsudōin 1912, pp. 5–6. This tour could also be taken in the opposite direction. See McDonald in this special issue for analyses of travelers to the continent on this and similar tours.

18 Tetsudōshō 1920, pp. 133–34.

of the great powers in the West." The line between Shinbashi and Kanagawa, for example, saw an increase from forty-three to forty-six daily round trips from 1908 to 1913. When electrification of the line was completed in 1915, the number of round trips jumped to 110 per day. Indeed, electrification allowed much more frequent services, and thus led to a rapid expansion in operations.[19]

Nationalization also resulted in properly scheduled services. Before this, delays were seen as "an almost normal condition" of some lines; but these decreased after nationalization with the beginning of through services. In order to achieve the "convenience and satisfaction of rail travelers," national rail authorities overhauled the system to keep trains on time, and refunded fares or offered free return tickets to the departure station when delays led to missed connections. In the case of extraordinary delays on express trains, the price of tickets was refunded.[20]

Furthermore, nationalization led to attempts to improve the condition of equipment and machinery on the rail network. From 1909, it became policy to fit all new carriages with bogies, and to increase the size of cars and seating. Third-class carriages, previously furnished with wooden or tatami-covered seats, were upgraded with fabric-covered seating, and oil lamps replaced with electric lights. Limited express trains between Tokyo and Shimonoseki were fitted with sleeping and glass-lined observation cars, earning them the accolade of the "best-equipped passenger trains in Japan." Heating systems using steam were installed on express trains on the Hokkaido line from October 1900 and, by the time nationalization was complete, these had been extended to the passenger and mixed passenger-freight trains on almost all other lines as well. Cooling systems, using electric fans, were previously offered in sleeping cars and dining cars, but nationalization led to them being installed in first-class carriages on principal services. Other measures to increase the comfort and convenience of passengers were directed at overnight rail travelers: first-class sleeping cars were coupled to trunk line trains, and second-class sleeping cars to trains on the Tōkaido, San'yō, Kyushu, Tōhoku, and other lines. In addition, dining cars were provided on through and express services on main lines.[21]

Improvements to the network and trains led to increasing use of rail transportation by visitors to expositions and fairs, or for group trips to shrines and temples. According to the Ministry of Railways, "As leisure travel makes up a remarkable share of passenger services on Japan's railways, and is a significant source of its income, we are working on developing this market further, reducing prices, adding extra trains for package tours, and increasing convenience for all users." March to early May were "the busiest time of the year for tourists," and large numbers of group and independent visitors traveled to shrines and temples in Ise 伊勢, Kyoto, and elsewhere to participate in festivals and memorial services. Yet summer as well saw droves of people "escaping the dirt and noise of the city (*tojin* 都塵)" for the mountains and sea. And come fall, the trains were busy with farmers taking time off to travel in the comfortable months of October and November. Finally, during the New

19 Tetsudōshō 1920, pp. 134–36.
20 Tetsudōshō 1920, pp. 134–35.
21 Tetsudōshō 1920, pp. 137–39.

Year holidays, "devout travelers" took to the rails to visit the Ise Grand Shrines and other sites of pilgrimage.[22]

International Rail Connections and Tourism as State Policy

With the formal cessation of the Russo-Japanese War agreed in the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan acquired most of the southern branch of the Chinese Eastern Railway (Tōshin Tetsudō 東清鉄道), from Lushun 旅順 (Jp. Ryojun; En. Port Arthur) to Changchun 長春, all accompanying rights and property, as well as the coal mines at Fushun 撫順 and Yantai 煙台. In June 1906, the semi-governmental South Manchuria Railway Company (hereafter Mantetsu 満鉄) was established with a capital investment of ¥200 million to operate the railway and develop the region. Japan already controlled rail lines in Taiwan, such as the main line between Keelung 基隆 (Jp. Kīrun) and Kaohsiung 高雄 (Jp. Takao), and on the Korean Peninsula, such as the north–south Keifu Railway (Keifu Tetsudō 京釜鉄道) and Gyeongui Railway (Keigi Tetsudō 京義鉄道). The addition of lines in southern Manchuria created an imperial rail network stretching across East Asia from the Japanese archipelago.

Even before peace was declared, Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平, soon to become the first director of Mantetsu, argued for a system of territorial management in Manchuria centered on the rail network.[23] In Gotō's dual vision, Mantetsu could become a pivot of the world economy by linking Japan, Manchuria, Russia, Europe, and America in a global transportation network. At the same time, this would promote order and help revitalize China, and provide "a base from which to execute *Weltpolitik*."[24]

Postwar developments like the Russian–Japanese accord, the bilateral promotion of peace in China, and the establishment of connections between Japanese and Russian sections of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the West Siberian Railway, and European and Asian train lines were all elements of Gotō's vision for rail in East Asia. In short, he attempted to locate Mantetsu on a "Europe–Asia highway," one link in a "massive trunk line" (*dai kansen* 大幹線) encircling the globe.[25] In thus reorganizing the rail system in East Asia around Mantetsu, Gotō helped reshape the foundations of international tourism in the region and beyond.

Travelers greatly benefitted from the introduction of the connecting services between Europe and Asia that the Ministry of Railways started from 15 May 1913. Previously, the journey time from East Asia was 45–46 days to Paris and 50 days to London via the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, or 25 days using transcontinental railroads in America. In contrast, new through-routes from Tokyo were about a third faster: 13 days to Berlin, 14 days to Paris, and 15 days to London. In addition, fares were cheaper: where a journey by ship could cost around ¥1,800, travel even in a first-class sleeper car was about ¥800 to ¥900. The increased frequency of rail services, compared to ship, was another advantage: steamships bound for Europe departed only once a month, or two to three times at most via America, whereas the connecting train service operated once a week.[26]

22 Tetsudōshō 1920, pp. 122–23.
23 Gotō 1944, p. 76.
24 Gotō 1944, p. 71.
25 Tsurumi 2005a, pp. 580–81. See also Oikawa 2013.
26 *Kokumin shinbun* 1913.

As these changes in intercontinental rail connections were taking place, national rail authorities began working to attract foreign tourists to Japan and its territories. The head of sales, Kinoshita Yoshio 木下淑夫, and others at the Railway Bureau's Transportation Department were instrumental in setting up the Japan Tourist Bureau (hereafter JTB) in March 1912, which soon became one of the principal agents of the interwar tourist boom. Four years had passed since operations began at the Railway Bureau but, in the wake of the end of the war with Russia, commodity prices had risen and the balance of trade turned unfavorable. Kinoshita hoped that growth in the number of inbound tourists would bring in much-needed foreign capital, encourage consumption, and lead to an increase in exports. In short, economic objectives were key to the establishment of JTB.[27] The Economic Research Institute (Keizai Chōsa Kai 経済調査会) agreed that the development of a policy to attract foreign visitors was an urgent task. At the time of World War I, though a growth in exports had led to an improvement in the balance of trade, they predicted that "the end of war would bring a renewed surplus of imports."[28]

In his arguments for the necessity of state involvement in tourism, Kinoshita focused on economic imperatives. Yet he also recognized the diplomatic uses of tourism. With military victory over Russia, negative images of Japan as an aggressive nation and a potential threat to the present world order had emerged in some quarters in the West. For Kinoshita, the main reason for such images was a lack of understanding of Japan, its politics, socioeconomics, and culture among the great powers. For that reason, it was necessary to develop and deepen mutual understanding, especially with China, Russia, and the USA. State involvement in tourism is necessary, Kinoshita argued, in order for "our country Japan to be properly understood by peoples around the world, and the position of our citizens raised."[29]

The outbreak of World War I led to a fall in the number of foreign visitors. In particular, the twelve months from the end of 1914 saw a massive slump. However, the situation gradually improved so that over twenty thousand foreign arrivals were recorded in 1916, and numbers eventually returned to their prewar levels.[30]

Tourist businesses performed consistently well, and, as seen in figure 2, foreign visitor numbers tended to increase throughout the interwar period despite repeated fluctuations. Amidst this enthusiasm for attracting international visitors, Gotō Shinpei—now head of the Railway Bureau—ordered the publication of an English-language travel guide in five volumes. *An Official Guide to Eastern Asia: Trans-continental Connections between Europe and Asia* covered Japan, colonial territories controlled by Japan and European powers, regions of informal empire, and independent states. The five volumes published between October 1913 and April 1917 were divided into Manchuria and Chosen, southwestern Japan, northwestern Japan, China, and the East Indies.[31] Defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War brought acknowledgement of Japan's status as a world power, and prompted the government to appeal to the sympathies of Western nations. Furthermore, with rail connections between Europe and Asia improving through the development of the South Manchuria Railway,

27 Kinoshita 1924, p. 153.
28 Kinoshita 1924, p. 154.
29 Kinoshita 1924, p. 171.
30 Japan Tourist Bureau 1917, p. 1.
31 Oikawa 2008.

Figure 2. Fluctuations in foreign visitor numbers to Japan.

Source: Unyu Keizai Kenkyū Sentā 1979.

Siberian Railway, and Chinese Eastern Railway, demand for a guidebook series on these regions increased among western travelers.

An Official Guide to Eastern Asia was thoroughly researched and edited. After receiving Gotō's directive, the Railway Bureau budgeted ¥200,000 for the compilation of the series, and between 1908 and 1909 experts were dispatched to Korea, Manchuria, China, Indochina, and islands in Japan's South Pacific Mandate (Nan'yō Shotō 南洋諸島) to collect huge amounts of material. The guidebooks were first written in Japanese, then translated into English after being checked by two British reviewers, before finally being published.[32] The level of descriptive content, accuracy of maps, as well as the distinctive pocket-guide format of the red jacket, is said to have been inspired by Karl Baedeker's well-reputed travel guidebooks, but the true attraction of the series stemmed from its effective application of research, in providing the latest data and most up-to-date information.

The tourist routes established in this period reflected common practices among international tourists, especially reasons to travel, not just within Japan, but also in nearby destinations such as Korea, Manchuria, China, and Taiwan in order to "see the unique climate and culture of the Orient before returning home."[33] *An Official Guide to Eastern Asia* established a reputation for itself as an "authority among Far Eastern guidebooks." JTB made a contract for consignment sales with the Railway Bureau and started selling the series in 1915. In 1916, 1,062 copies were sold, which amounted to ¥4,832.55, approximately double the previous year's sales figures.[34] In 1917, JTB sold the guide through Kelly and Walsh, the general vending agent for *Murray's Handbook: Japan*, and sales for the year

32 Mikuriya 2007, p. 52.
33 Arai 1931, pp. 176–77.
34 Tsurumi 2005b, p. 24.

increased to 1,458 copies or ¥6,336.50.[35] The Railway Bureau began revising the volumes on Japan following the Great Kantō earthquake, a job that was soon taken over by the Board of Tourist Industry, earning it the accolade of "the most trusted guide for international travelers."[36]

A "Business-Approach" to Rail Transportation Management

Travel Promotion Policy and the Ministry of Railways

The Ministry of Railways was established in May 1920. After taking over jurisdiction of the national railway from the Railway Bureau, it initiated various policies to promote travel. First, it decided to provide reduced second and third-class fares for tour groups on special trains (*rinji ressha* 臨時列車) to destinations popular with domestic tourists, including famous sightseeing spots, shrines and temples, exhibitions, and sporting events. Furthermore, from October 1925, sightseeing tickets for travel around established tourist sites were set up and sold through JTB for the convenience of those traveling by train, steamboat, car, and other types of transportation. Next, between 1929 and 1936, *Nihon annaiki* 日本案内記, an eight-volume guidebook series, was published for Japanese tourists. This introduced scenic, historical, industrial, economic, human and cultural, geological, and other attractions of various regions in Japan (Hokkaido, Tōhoku, Kantō, Chūbu, Kinki (1 and 2), Chūgoku/Shikoku, and Kyushu). In order to ensure the accuracy of the content, the Ministry of Railways commissioned the historian Kuroiwa Katsumi 黒岩勝美 and geographer Yamazaki Nao 山崎直 to oversee its compilation. The series established a reputation as a "detailed and scrupulous work without comparison in Japanese-language travel guidebooks."[37]

From September 1925, the ministry established railway tourist information centers one after another in major cities, which became important hubs for railway advertising and campaigns to attract travelers. Railway employees were dispatched to these centers to provide travelers with information about baggage and to sell tickets. In April 1930, the National Railways Travelers and Baggage Transportation Regulations (Kokuyū Tetsudō Ryokyaku oyobi Nimotsu Unsō Kisoku 国有鉄道旅客及荷物運送規則) were revised, resulting in the utilization of the metric system in transportation management and the reclassification of group travel from fifty people to thirty people and above.

In addition, the trunk line network (*kansenmō* 幹線網) reached completion. Express and semi-express trains were reestablished on all these lines, and train numbers were increased. Prior to this, express trains on the trunk line were running in each region, with Tokyo and Osaka as central hubs. From this time, there were connecting routes for express trains to Honshu, Hokkaido, Shikoku, Kyushu, and other regions, and trains connecting to Siberia Railways, which ran through Korea and Manchuria, also began full-scale operation.

In Honshu as well, a through-route express train had been running between Kobe and Aomori since 1925, following the opening of the north–south Japan Sea coastal line

35 Tsurumi 2005b, p. 42; Nakagawa 1979, p. 237. Describing *An Official Guide to Eastern Asia* as "a product of the ambitions of imperial Japan," Nagasaka Keina 長坂契那 emphasizes the nationalistic background of the series; however, it can also be seen as emerging out of heightened interest in the West about Asia. Nagasaka 2011, p. 63.

36 Kokusai Kankō Kyoku 1940, pp. 103–104.

37 Nakagawa 1979, pp. 199–200.

(*Nihonkai engan jūkansen* 日本海沿岸縦貫線); but with the beginning of full-scale operations on the Uetsu 羽越 main line, other through-route services began. On the Tōkaidō main line and San'yō main line, express and limited express services linking Tokyo, Osaka, and Kobe, as well as Tokyo and Shimonoseki, were reorganized. From July 1923, a third-class limited express service joined the first- and second-class limited express already in operation between Tokyo and Shimonoseki. From September 1929, the first- and second-class service was labelled *Fuji* 富士 and the third-class *Sakura* 桜. These became iconic trains given the task of connecting Japan to Korea and Manchuria.

On 1 October 1930, the super-express service (*chōtokkyū ressha* 超特急列車), *Tsubame* 燕 (Swallow), started running between Tokyo and Kobe. Its remarkable speed made it popular, and led to renewed appreciation among passengers of rail's ability to move people rapidly. In December 1931, a *Tsubame* service departing ten minutes earlier than the regular began on a temporary basis, and was soon after included in the regular schedule. With only seven cars, the *Tsubame* could make the run between Tokyo and Kobe in nine hours, reducing the journey time of the limited express train by two hours and forty minutes.[38]

The *Tsubame* was the product of technological developments made in various sectors of the national rail industry from the mid-1910s.[39] Most important was the appearance of the C51-type steam locomotive. This had a driving wheel diameter of 1,750 mm, and could run at speeds exceeding ninety kilometers per hour even when pulling a five-hundred-ton carriage, making it one of the world's most powerful engines for a narrow-gauge train. By adopting new technologies such as the automatic coupler, air brake, automatic traffic light, fifty-kilogram rail, three-axis bogie truck, and steel passenger car, this locomotive, the *Tsubame*, recorded a fixed speed of 67.6 kilometers an hour. The *Tsubame* demonstrated the strength of the railway as a high-speed, mass transportation system, and was thus an important component in the Ministry of Railways' attempts to reform rail management.

At the same time, the Ministry of Railways enhanced passenger services in other ways. In order to improve the ventilation and lighting inside the passenger car, they installed freely rotatable seats in the first-class section of express trains. In 1931, a third-class sleeper car was added to trains between Tokyo and Kobe. Their number increased yearly, and by the end of 1936 they were added to express trains on the trunk line.

Generally, superior-class trains (*yūtōsha* 優等車) were reduced, and facilities for the benefit of a wider range of passengers were advanced. Improvements were made through the manufacture and remodeling of cars to combine second and third-class seating, second-class seating and sleepers, second-class seating and dining cars, and third-class seating and baggage cars. Furthermore, third-class trains were upgraded and enlarged, curtains installed, airtightness boosted through the use of rising windows, and additional improvements were made in seating, lighting, and other facilities. Thus, third-class cars reached internationally high standards.

On 26 November 1929, the cabinet deliberated how to promote inbound travel. As a result, for the first time, government recruited businesses to attract international visitors as part of a policy to "improve international goodwill and the balance of foreign debt."[40]

38 Harada 1988, p. 20.
39 Harada 1988, pp. 31–32.
40 Arai 1931, p. 2.

Then, on 19 April 1930, the Board of Tourist Industry was established as an external bureau of the Ministry of Railways, to direct, oversee, foster, and regulate all inbound travel.[41] At the same time, the Ministry of Railways was also active in attempts to attract international tourists to Japan.

Timetable Revisions of 1 July 1937

Military-related industrialization advanced rapidly following the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident on 18 September 1931, and rail traffic, in decline since the 1928 depression, increased again from 1932. The Japanese economy reentered a stage of positive growth from 1933, in turn stimulating passenger and freight services. In order to boost rail traffic further, from 1934 the Atami 熱海 line and other important shortcut lines were opened, revisions were made to nationwide train schedules, and improvements were made to services and facilities. The latter included enhancements to train speed, passenger cars, beds, and other facilities; remodeling of freight cars; an increase in the number of express trains; the opening of new connections between Japan and Manchuria; and the expansion of discount fares. As a result of these measures, as well as the upturn in the economy, railway transportation volume continued its steady growth.

Major changes in trunk line routes took place with the completion of the Tanna 丹那 Tunnel in Shizuoka prefecture in December 1934. These included track alterations between Kōzu 国府津 and Numazu 沼津 on the Tōkaidō main line, and between Hizen-Yamaguchi 肥前山口 and Isahaya 諫早 on the Nagasaki main line 長崎本線, as well as the opening of the San'yō main line between Marifu 麻里布 (currently Iwakuni 岩国) and Kushigahama 櫛ヶ浜. Along with this, train routes were further improved, limited express and express services on the trunk line were increased, and its transportation capacity strengthened. Robust operational systems capable of responding to changing transportation demands were established on the Tōkaidō and San'yō main lines, where express services were increased, and irregular express trains departing at around ten-minute intervals were introduced alongside regular express trains. The speeds of express trains on all other lines were also improved.

Responding to the decline in demand since the depression, the Ministry of Railways reduced the number of superior-class trains. Except for limited express trains and some express trains, the ministry abolished first-class carriages on the Tōkaidō and San'yō main lines, and added third-class carriages to *Fuji* limited express services between Tokyo and Shimonoseki. At the same time, second-class carriages were added to the *Sakura*, making it a second and third-class limited express service.

The business-approach of the national railway's passenger and freight transportation system was, as shown above, maintained following the Mukden Incident. When schedules were revised on 1 July 1937, there were five limited express services (including irregular trains) in operation, the most in the prewar period, as well as the highest standards of service facilities in the so-called superior-class express and other trains. Tourism and leisure services such as seasonal discounts and circular trips (*shūyū* 周遊) continued as before, and these types of consumer demands on rail tended to increase rather than diminish.

41 Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbunsha 1940, p. 600.

The schedule revision also established a new limited express named *Kamome* かもめ (Seagul) on the route between Tokyo and Kobe. The *Kamome* was introduced because the *Fuji* and *Sakura* services were extremely crowded following the Manchuria Incident. It was innovative in enabling a longer visiting time in the Keihin region of Tokyo, Kawasaki, and Yokohama than the *Tsubame* limited express. By this time, the transportation system for express and long-distance train services had reached completion.[42]

Questions remain about the impact that policies and campaigns to attract passengers had on the operation of national rail. Table 3 shows changes in passenger numbers and revenue of the national railway between 1920 and 1936, divided into non-regular (*teikigai* 定期外) and regular (*teiki* 定期) passengers. As can be seen, the number of regular passengers—primarily commuters to work and school—increased rapidly during this period. In 1920, there were over 111 million regular passengers, but in 1931 this increased to more than 400 million, surpassing the 386 million non-regular passengers, and making up 51 percent of total passengers. Despite stagnating during 1930–1935, the number of non-regular passengers, including long-distance travelers such as tourists, increased from a little over 294 million in 1920 to approximately 465 million in 1936.

Regarding passenger transportation revenues, revenue from non-regular travelers was over ¥181 million in 1920, far higher than the almost ¥5 million received in regular passenger revenue, and accounted for 97 percent of total passenger transportation revenues. While, from this time, growth in transportation revenue from regular passengers continued to exceed growth in revenue from non-regular passengers, in 1936 revenues from non-regular passengers still accounted for 91 percent (around ¥260 million) of total transportation revenue. From this perspective, interwar strategies to attract passengers clearly made a significant contribution to the operation of the national railway.

Rail Transportation and the Shift from Passenger Promotion to National Policy

National Rail during the Second Sino-Japanese War

Born out of the nationalization of railways following the Russo-Japanese War, the national rail authority established a sales-oriented passenger transportation system and actively developed measures to attract passengers. The schedule revision on 1 July 1937 aimed to further develop this sales-oriented approach. However, a few days later on 7 July, the situation changed dramatically when the Marco Polo Bridge incident triggered the second Sino-Japanese War. The full-scale dispatch of troops began on 27 July. A year later, by July 1938, it is estimated that two million troops and almost two and a half million tons of military supplies had been transported. The Tōkaidō and San'yō main lines played an especially central role. On average the equivalent of at least four round-trip freight trains ran on these lines every day.[43] Following the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War, therefore, rail traffic increased sharply in response to the war situation.

The national railway gave priority to military transportation as it made a significant operational transition from a "passenger promotion model" to a "national policy transportation model." The transition was not total, however, as seen in the widespread prevalence of fare discounts for participants in a range of meetings and expositions until

42 Harada 1988, p. 117.
43 Harada 1988, p. 126.

1938. Indicative of this transition was the founding of the magazine, *Kankō hōkoku shūkan* 観光報国週間 (Tourism Patriot Weekly), on 18 April 1938. Its purpose was "to emphasize the spiritual side of working in tourism, to extol and secure the Japanese spirit, and show a sincerity of service through the business of tourism." This objective was also reflected in their slogan: "Love and protect the nation, emphasize public virtue, and train both mind and body" (*kokudo aigo, kōtokushin kyōchō, shinshin tanren* 国土愛護、公徳心強調、心身鍛錬).[44] In the 1 January 1939 edition of *Tetsudō jihō* 鉄道時報, the chief of the Transportation Division of the Ministry of Railways (Tetsudōshō Unyu Kyoku 鉄道省運輸局), Yamada Shinjūrō 山田新十郎, further clarified the Ministry of Railways' transition away from travel promotion:

> In accordance with present circumstances, we will reform previous policy in regard to advertising passenger travel; newly establish a national movement aimed at appreciating the fatherland, respect for gods, veneration of ancestors, and mental and physical training; extend the period of discount fares for youth walking tours; discount or waive fares for bereaved family members attending extraordinary assemblies at Yasukuni Shrine; carry out special hiking discounts and other services during National Spirit General Mobilization Health Week; and through this contribute to the defense of the home front.[45]

National railway shifted from a business model focused on the promotion of passenger services for profit to one that primarily saw rail transportation in terms of national policy. It continued to work on attracting passengers, but promotional campaigns emphasized the railway's ability to mobilize citizens for activities connected to religious worship or ancestor veneration, as well as mental and physical training such as shrine visits, youth walking tours, alpine walking (*teizan tozan* 低山登山), and hiking.

National railway's perception of the tourism industry also changed significantly at this time. After World War I, businesses such as railways, shipping lines, and hotels developed numerous means of converting travelers' mobility into monetary gain. However, by 1940, with the formation of the Advanced Defense State (Kōdo Kokubō Kokka 高度国防国家), the tourism industry was given an important role. As stated in one contemporary newspaper, "Japanese tourism is entrusted with a great mission: to give shape to an advanced international consciousness that, founded on an ethnic spirit inherited from our ancestors, will be the driving force of a new East Asia; the extolling of our brilliant 2,600 years of imperial culture; and the fortification of industrial trade and the national economy." As demonstrated here, tourism was endorsed in two ways: first, as a force to "promote national culture widely abroad and contribute to international goodwill"; and second, as a way to "improve the international balance of payments, not through trade but via the income received by welcoming tourists."[46]

Not only was tourism's cultural and political efficacy emphasized—such as its promotion of national culture and the auxiliary support it offered to foreign policy—but

44 Nakamura 2007, p. 188.
45 Nihon Kokuyū Tetsudō 1973, pp. 723–24.
46 Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbunsha 1940, p. 594.

Table 3. Passenger numbers and income of the National Railways (1920–1936).

YEAR	NON-REGULAR PASSENGERS					
	PASSENGERS TRANSPORTED			TRANSPORT REVENUE		
	NUMBER (1,000)	INDEX	PERCENT	EARNINGS (1,000¥)	INDEX	PERCENT
1920	294,390	100	73	181,603	100	97
1921	312,071	106	69	185,844	102	97
1922	338,409	115	66	199,447	110	96
1923	373,436	127	65	213,246	117	96
1924	393,245	134	62	219,986	121	95
1925	402,272	137	59	222,102	122	95
1926	420,933	143	57	223,382	123	94
1927	440,407	150	56	227,596	125	94
1928	463,945	158	55	240,362	132	93
1929	460,724	157	53	234,054	129	93
1930	418,561	142	51	211,641	117	92
1931	386,267	131	49	198,582	109	92
1932	368,305	125	47	192,894	106	91
1933	393,911	134	47	211,053	116	91
1934	417,464	142	46	226,573	125	91
1935	437,953	149	44	239,478	132	91
1936	465,358	158	44	260,138	143	91

YEAR	REGULAR PASSENGERS					
	PASSENGERS TRANSPORTED			TRANSPORT REVENUE		
	NUMBER (1,000)	INDEX	PERCENT	EARNINGS (1,000¥)	INDEX	PERCENT
1920	111,429	100	27	4,697	100	3
1921	142,465	127	31	6,274	134	3
1922	171,400	154	34	7,588	162	4
1923	203,036	182	35	9,039	192	4
1924	242,210	217	38	10,852	231	5
1925	274,813	247	41	12,269	261	5
1926	314,774	282	43	14,037	299	6
1927	349,542	314	44	15,544	331	6
1928	383,356	344	45	17,124	365	7
1929	402,215	361	47	18,379	391	7
1930	405,592	364	49	18,542	395	8
1931	400,955	360	51	18,338	390	8
1932	412,844	370	53	18,821	401	9
1933	447,405	402	53	20,447	435	9
1934	496,100	445	54	22,584	481	9
1935	547,088	491	56	24,854	529	9
1936	593,273	532	56	26,930	573	9

Source: Nihon Kokuyū Tetsudō 1971b, pp. 84–85.

so was its economic significance in improving the balance of payments through tourism revenue. Tourism, framed as an "invisible trade" and an "invisible export" was positioned as an important industry within national policy.[47] The tourism industry, seen by policy makers as a way to strengthen national defense, was "increasingly charged during this state of emergency with duties related to broader national defense."[48]

Tourism in Japan was the foundation of this vision of international tourism as foreign policy, and thus domestic tourism businesses were urged to "work towards the improvement of facilities, including accommodation, sanitation, and entertainment, encourage wholesome travel by the general public, cultivate public virtue, and emphasize the beautification of the country." Domestic tourism businesses assumed two important roles: first, "strengthening national defense through the improvement of citizens' health," and second, "developing a mutual feeling of affinity among the people, cultivating local and national patriotism."[49]

In November 1941, the Land Transportation Control Order (Rikuun Tōsei Rei 陸運統制令) was enacted. Article 2 declared that, "The Minister of Railways has the right to refuse to transport certain persons or goods, and may designate the sequence, method, or other criteria for transportation." Furthermore, Article 10 of the Passenger Hand-luggage Transportation Rules (Ryokyaku Tekonimotsu Unsō Kisoku 旅客手小荷物運送規則) gave the Ministry power to restrict or suspend the sale of passenger, express, and sleeper train tickets. However, this step was regarded as a "last resort," as its abuse could result in "many harmful effects." Therefore, "the only way" to transition to a national policy-oriented transportation system "is through a mass national movement arising out of the conscious spirit of the nation." This problem was not limited to transportation; rather, across all areas of social life, there was an avowed necessity to light "the spark of a multitude of new order lifestyle movements (*seikatsu shintaisei undō* 生活新体制運動)."[50]

At the same time, the Minister of Railways, Terajima Ken 寺島健, consulted with the Railway Fare Council (Tetsudō Unchin Shingikai 鉄道運賃審議会) about raising passenger fares. In order to "fulfill the mission of the railway," Terajima recommended "rethinking the rate of passenger fares." This would "help absorb the expendable income [of passengers], as well as strengthen wartime financial resources, and modulate rail transportation capacity." Passenger ticket prices had last been changed more than twenty years before in 1920, when fares were increased by around 27 percent in response to soaring inflation after World War I. Terajima argued now that ticket prices should be raised to bring fares into line with passage tax (*tsūkōzei* 通行税), which *had* increased. With passenger revenues totaling approximately ¥700 million a year, a price increase of about 27–28 percent was expected to increase earnings by nearly ¥200 million.[51] In order to strengthen the wartime regime, therefore, the national railway abandoned its low fare policy designed to attract passengers.

National Rail during the Asia-Pacific War

On 8 December 1941, war between Japan and the United States broke out with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The second Sino-Japanese War expanded into the Asia-Pacific War,

47 Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbunsha 1940, p. 593.
48 Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbunsha 1940, p. 594.
49 Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbunsha 1940, p. 597.
50 Takeuchi 1942a.
51 Nihon Kokuyū Tetsudō 1973, p. 721.

and the establishment of a wartime rail transportation system became urgent. Passenger fares were raised by about 28 percent from 1 April 1942, and the system of price reduction for long-distance journeys (*enkyori teigensei* 遠距離逓減制) was readjusted. Express and sleeper prices had already been revised up on 1 January of this year. The criteria for calculating express fares had changed from the conventional three-zone system (400 km, 800 km, over 800 km) to a two-zone system (400 km and over 400 km), and the passage tax imposed on the express train was also increased from a general tax of 10 percent to a tiered system of 10 percent for third class, 20 percent for second class, and 30 percent for first class. Sleeper prices also rose by anywhere from 10 to 50 percent, and passage taxes were newly imposed at 20 percent for second-class and 30 percent for first-class sleeper tickets. Table 4 shows passenger fares, express surcharges, and sleeper fares for journeys from Tokyo to all major destinations, and reveals that first and second-class fares on regular express trains between Tokyo and Osaka rose by nearly 40 percent.[52]

Takeuchi Itsuki 竹内齊, an official in the Passenger Section (Ryokyaku Ka 旅客課) of the Ministry of Railways' Transportation Department, commented that the national railway had once "espoused travel culture ideals, and worked enthusiastically to attract passengers." However, recently it had "taken the opposite course, calling for the end of unnecessary and low-priority travel, restricting the sale of tickets and so on, taking all kinds of measures to restrain travel, and starting to behave as if travel were uncultured." He further argued that the policy switch that had occurred in relation to passenger service did "not itself deny the cultural value of travel," but rather was aimed at "securing the capacity to transport essential materials for the Defense State." For this reason, the "suppression of travel occurring at present is like 'putting a mended lid on a cracked pot' (*warenabe ni tojibuta* 割れ鍋にとぢ蓋): it fails to improve the state of passenger transportation, which at 60 percent makes up over half of the total amount of rail traffic."[53]

In October 1942, on what happened to be the seventieth anniversary of the beginning of rail services in Japan, the cabinet declared a Wartime Land Transportation State of Emergency (Senji Rikuun Hijō Taisei 戦時陸運非常体制), which called for the complete transfer of responsibility for transporting large freight from shipping to rail. The Kanmon 関門 Tunnel between Shimonoseki and Moji was opened in June 1942, and freight trains were able to pass under the strait from July. Additionally, following timetable revisions in November, the tunnel was also used by through-route passenger trains running between Honshu and Kyushu, including services from Tokyo to Moji or Hakata, and the *Fuji* express, which could now run from Tokyo to Nagasaki. The *Sakura* limited express was extended to run from Tokyo to Kagoshima, but in the process it was downgraded to an express service. Also, a considerable number of passenger services were abolished following the timetable revision of February 1943: first, the limited express *Kamome* service, and then all express services including *Tsubame*, and third-class sleeping and dining cars on all lines.

In this way, passenger services on the national railway were considerably reduced. In a wartime issue of the travel magazine *Tabi* 旅, author and former army general Sakurai Tadayoshi 櫻井忠温 writes about the "desire to travel during an extended war" (*chōkisen-ka no tabikokoro* 長期戦下の旅こころ). "In the past," he continues, "the national railway used

52 "Kokutetsu kyukō ryōkin shindai ryōkin no kaisei" 1942.
53 Takeuchi 1942b.

Table 4. Comparison of national railways express and sleeper train fares before and after the price revision of 1942 (JPY).

ZONE	TRAIN OR CARRIAGE TYPE	CLASS	BASIC FARE		EXP./ LIM. EXP. SURCHARGE		SLEEPER SURCHARGE		TOTAL	PRE-REVISION PRICE	PRICE RISE
			FEE	TAX	FEE	TAX	FEE	TAX			
Tokyo–Nagoya	Regular Express	1st	13.20	1.80	4.50	1.35			20.80	17.20	20.9%
		2nd	8.80	90	3.00	60			13.30	11.10	19.8%
		3rd	4.40	30	1.50	15			6.35	5.40	17.6%
Tokyo–Osaka	Limited Express	1st	17.85	2.40	9.00	2.7			31.95	26.85	19.0%
		2nd	11.90	1.20	6.00	1.2			20.3	17.5	16.0%
		3rd	5.95	40	2.00	30			9.65	8.55	12.9%
Tokyo–Osaka	Regular Express	1st	17.85	2.40	6.00	1.80	11.00	3.30	42.35	30.55	38.6%
	Overnight	2nd	11.90	1.20	4.00	80	8.00	1.60	27.50	Ω19.80	38.9%
	Sleeper (lower bunk)	3rd	5.95	40	2.00	20	—	—	8.55	7.45	14.8%
Tokyo–Shimonoseki	Regular Express	1st	28.65	3.00	6.00	1.80			39.45	35.75	10.3%
		2nd	19.10	1.50	4.00	80			25.40	23.35	8.8%
		3rd	9.55	50	2.00	20			12.25	11.40	7.5%
Tokyo–Shimonoseki	Limited Express, Sleeper (lower bunk)	1st	28.65	3.00	9.00	2.70	11.00	3.30	57.65	46.90	22.9%
		2nd	19.1	1.50	6.00	1.20	8.00	1.60	37.40	30.60	22.2%
		3rd	9.55	50	3.00	30	—	—	13.35	12.80	4.3%
Ueno–Aomori	Regular Express	2nd	8.60	90	3.00	60			13.10	10.90	20.2%
		3rd	4.30	30	1.50	15			6.25	5.30	17.9%
Ueno–Aomori	Regular Express Sleeper (upper bunk)	2nd	14.60	1.20	4.00	80	6.00	1.20	27.80	21.00	32.4%
		3rd	7.30	40	2.00	20	—	—	9.90	8.80	12.5%

Source: “Kokutetsu kyukō ryōkin shindai ryōkin no kaisei” 1942.

to say things like 'Hey, go to this festival tomorrow, go see this view,' or 'Go ahead, get on. We will give you a discount.' Now they say things like, 'Don't let people on,' and 'Don't bring on baggage over one *shaku* and one *sun* [*isshaku issun* 一尺一寸, approximately 33 cm] square.'"

Yet this did not mean that all travel was forbidden. Hiking and alpine walking, for example, were promoted: "There is nothing as enjoyable and liberating as visiting mountains, rivers, lakes, and fens, and exploring the emotional life and customs of people in the countryside." Long-distance leisure travel by train—typified in slogans such as "Let's go to Nikkō 日光 and have a drink," or "How about going with friends to see the sights in Osaka?"—may have been discouraged; but short-distance trips by train for walks in the country and mountains were promoted as a means to train body and spirit.[54] However, in February 1944, when the cabinet passed the Outline for Emergency Measures to Win the War (Kessen Hijō Sochi Yōkō 決戦非常措置要綱), permission from the Travel Control Office (Ryokō Tōsei Kan 旅行統制官) became necessary to purchase a ticket for all travel over one-hundred kilometers.[55]

In the shift from passenger services to military-related freight that occurred over these years, the following episode is illustrative. In December 1938, nearly six months after the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War, the Ministry of Railways argued that "the lands of Japan and Korea must be connected by all means." This prompted the ministry to formulate plans, first, to construct a tunnel between Karatsu 唐津 in northern Kyushu and Pusan in Korea, and second, to develop a broad-gauge Tōkaidō and San'yō line to "deal with a sudden transportation increase," and link Tokyo and Shimonoseki in 9 hours 50 minutes (Tokyo to Osaka in 4 hours 50 minutes).[56] The broad-gauge train between Tokyo and Shimonoseki was called the "bullet train" (*dangan ressha* 弾丸列車), and originally "aimed to transport travelers at high speed."[57] However, it was revised to a freight service in response to changing geopolitical conditions, as revealed in a comment by Minister of Transportation Communication (Unyu Tsūshin Daijin 運輸通信大臣), Hatta Yoshiaki 八田嘉明: "If you consider the transportation situation of Japan, Manchuria, and China, both now and in the future, we need to shift to prioritizing freight, and be able to transport a large quantity of freight at high speed."[58]

As the wartime situation developed, and freight was prioritized over passenger services, the national railway switched from promoting travel to supporting national policy. This shift provided the context for the discouragement of long-distance leisure travel on trains and the encouragement of alpine walking and hiking. The change in direction gave rise to new forms of tourism, yet we should not lose sight of the fact that the national railway had by this point became a central part of military-related transportation, and had abandoned the business orientation that had driven the creation and development of the railway in previous decades.

54 Sakurai 1942.
55 Harada 1988, pp. 215–16.
56 *Asahi shinbun* 20.12.1938; *Asahi shinbun* 28.12.1938.
57 On the "bullet train" plan, see Kushner 2016, pp. 45–46.
58 *Asahi shinbun* 24.1.1944. While work began on the bullet train in 1941, it was not completed. Likewise, the plan to build a tunnel below the Korean channel never reached completion. However, the concept of the bullet train is likely to have become the basis for the Tōkaidō Shinkansen developed after the war.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the relationship between war and tourism in relation to the passenger service policy of the national railway from the Russo-Japanese War to the second Sino-Japanese War and Asia-Pacific War. In closing, I would like to summarize what the study has verified. During the period of the Russo-Japanese War, there was only limited impact from military usage of the rail network on the transportation of general passengers, visitors to shrines and temples, and other nonmilitary travelers. The nationalization of the railways that followed the Russo-Japanese War, as well as the establishment of the South Manchurian Railway, led to the formation of an imperial railway network, and an unprecedented boom in tourism during the so-called interwar period of the 1920s and 1930s. The travel magazine, *Tabi*, began publication in 1924 and, to quote Akai, "travel for the sake of travel" became widespread.[59] In this context, the national railway lay the foundations of its express and long-distance rail transportation system. Furthermore, along with efforts to attract international tourists, national rail authorities encouraged the new middle class—which developed following the Russo-Japanese War—to travel to tourist attractions throughout Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria, and other formal and informal territories of the empire. In this way, the national rail network emerged out of a business approach to the management of rail transportation, and this helped orchestrate the interwar tourism boom.

In the 1930s, due to events such as the Manchuria Incident of September 1931 and withdrawal from the League of Nations in February 1933, Japan's international isolation grew, and right-wing imperialist movements including the Kokutai Meichō Undō 国体明徵運動 made ground. The Ministry of Railways—at a meeting of regional rail passenger leaders at the end of 1935—encouraged pilgrimage to sacred places (*seichi junrei* 聖地巡礼) through measures such as providing a 30 percent reduction for private travelers visiting mausolea of successive emperors or Shinto shrines.[60] The timetable revision of 1 July 1937 led to the further development of a rail transportation system oriented towards business objectives.

However, the situation changed dramatically following the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War on 7 July 1937. The use of the rail network for military transportation increased considerably, and the policy direction of national railways switched from promoting travel to supporting national policy. When the second Sino-Japanese War expanded into the Asia-Pacific War, and the Wartime Land Transportation State of Emergency was declared at the end of 1942, self-restraint in leisure tourism using trains was encouraged, and travel for recreation criticized. Restrictions that were imposed, for example, on the sale of tickets, laid the foundations for a system of rail transportation in which passengers refrained from travel.[61] A January 1943 edition of *Tabi* included the following opinions: "The railways are for the war, and should mainly be used by those working in official public business, or for the transportation of military supplies and other essential goods"; "In these times, we do not have the luxury to conceive of travel as an activity for the pleasure of citizens."[62]

59 Mori 2010; Akai 2016, p. 5.
60 Mori 2010, p. 84.
61 Mori 2010, pp. 92–93.
62 Arai 1943. On the strengthening of travel restrictions during this period, see Miyawaki 1997.

Takaoka and Ruoff have argued that, while national rail policy changed direction to support military objectives following the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War, the tourism boom continued even into the 1940s through pilgrimage to sacred sites, alpine walking, hiking, and other leisure practices.[63] However, this paper has shown that the beginning of all-out war in China triggered a rapid shift in the management of rail transportation from the business approach that formed in the interwar period to an approach focused on supporting national policy. From this time, as Akai and others have pointed out, the overt practice of "travel for the sake of travel" disappeared.[64] In other words, with the second Sino-Japanese War, the tourism boom—centered around the new middle class that emerged between the wars—collapsed as the national railway turned away from the promotion of leisure travel by train. That is, the wartime tourism explored by Takaoka and Ruoff emerged out of the repudiation of "travel for the sake of travel."

Of course, while travel, or tourism, seemed to disappear during the war, the reality was less simple. A January 1943 edition of *Tabi* notes that "it is unavoidable that the railway restricts passenger transportation. What is troubling, however, is that the world looks disapprovingly (*hakuganshi suru* 白眼視する) on travel for the sake of travel because of this."[65] Like an underground stream, demand for "travel for the sake of travel," which provided the basis for the interwar tourism boom, continued to flow even as the war situation worsened. However, the national railway did not yield to such demands. The limited express, first-class car, scenic car, sleeper car, and other luxury services were abolished; and, with the rescheduling of the timetable in March 1945, the return train between Tokyo and Shimonoseki became the only passenger express train remaining in operation.[66]

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63 Ruoff 2010; Takaoka 1993.
64 Akai 2016.
65 Baba 1943.
66 Oikawa 2017, pp. 206–207.

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(Translated from the Japanese by Andrew Elliott and Daniel Milne)

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"Orient Calls": Anglophone Travel Writing and Tourism as Propaganda during the Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1941

Andrew ELLIOTT

The outbreak of full-scale conflict between Japan and China in 1937 led to a proliferation of book-length reports of travel in the region by Anglophone authors. This essay analyzes a selection of travelogues that used Japan as a base from which to journey to wartime China. These texts/travels were often heavily mediated by official tourist agencies in Japan, who organized itineraries and guided travelers, and produced guidebooks, pamphlets, and posters that framed sites in specific ways, typically combining tropes of oriental exoticism and modernity. This use of international tourism as a form of propaganda intended to encourage more positive views of imperial Japan has been well documented, but detailed analyses of these travelogues allow both the success of this propaganda strategy, and the discursive reworkings demanded by new conditions of travel, to be more fully explored. This essay argues that Western orientalism is radically repurposed in many of these texts to support Japanese not European imperialism, presenting a benign, pacific image of Japan and empire as a convenient but exotic travel site, which either occludes or naturalizes the war in line with official propaganda aims. Though tourism's reach as cultural diplomacy was ultimately limited by news of military operations in China, these texts nevertheless suggest its efficacy as a disciplinary tool, incorporating travelers into a Japanese nationalist vision of the second Sino-Japanese War and regional geopolitics.

Keywords: Anglophone travel writing, cross-cultural encounter, exoticism, imperialism, Japan, propaganda, second Sino-Japanese War, orientalism, colonial tourism, wartime travel

Introduction: The Poetics and Politics of Wartime Travel Writing

> Japan *was* beautiful to look at in late April, as we followed the curving track along the Inland Sea that is one of the most delightful train-journeys in the world. The hillsides were bright with flowering shrubs, yellow and red and smoky blue; and the air was heavy with the spring. Pale oranges glowed through their dark leaves; in the well-tended fields, vegetables were dressed for market in almost military array. This was a country at peace, and not at war.

> It was beautiful, and my heart rose in me against it. For instead of these tranquil hills I saw another country—ravaged fields where no crops would ripen this year, the blackened beams of ruined villages, cities where the dead lay piled beside the river-banks. It was not a pleasant picture, though it was the work of Japanese artists, some of whom were proud of it […]. I wanted to bring that picture into that crowded railway carriage, the real picture of the war….[1]

In July 1937, when full-scale war between Japan and China broke out, New Zealander James Bertram was in Tokyo, researching political events while staying in the Western-style Bunka Apartments ("a dingy block of flats") in Ochanomizu.[2] On 8 July, a journalist acquaintance phoned Bertram at home, informing him about reports of a skirmish at Marco Polo Bridge. Three days later, while watching the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra at the Hibiya Kodaiko Hall, Bertram and a friend heard, from outside the theatre, a hand-bell announcing a newspaper "extra" edition; they left the performance early to read that four divisions of troops were being sent to North China. Later, at a Japan Tourist Bureau (Japan Tsūrisuto Byūrō ジャパン ツーリスト ビューロー) office suddenly overwhelmed by travelers trying to return to China, Bertram managed to secure tickets for 14 July that took him first to Kobe by train, by ferry to Moji and then to Tianjin. After a brief visit to Beijing, he went to Xian and from there to the northwestern front. For Bertram, as for other Western travelers in the period, the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) provided, not a reason to stay at home, but rather an opportunity to travel.

Bertram's 1939 travelogue, *North China Front*, is primarily concerned with the author's experiences after his return to China. The prologue, where the above episode is recounted, and the final chapters, from which my opening quotation is taken, are both set in Japan, however, and it is here that Bertram engages most explicitly with the war as a discursive, as much as a military, conflict. This includes not only the utilization of propaganda by Japanese and Chinese forces, which is explicitly discussed elsewhere in *North China Front*. Rather, in these Japan sections, Bertram also looks self-reflexively at his own rhetoric to consider the politics of travel-textual representation: how ways of seeing order the world according to particular values. A good example of this is given in the long passage quoted above, located upon Bertram's return to Japan after almost a year with the Eighth Route Army, where Bertram confronts and challenges the lure of the tourist gaze. In his first description, of the spring countryside from the train, the landscape is organized as a well-composed scene for the appreciation of the viewer, who judges it according to aesthetic criteria ("Japan *was* beautiful to look at"). Against this, Bertram offers a counter-parataxis of sights seen in wartime China marked by tropes of displeasure, disharmony ("the dead lay piled"), and ruin. Implicitly acknowledging the correlation of poetics with politics, Bertram suggests it is this second "real picture" that risks being occluded by a touristic gaze founded upon fantasies of escape, exotic difference, and picturesque beauty. Notably, Bertram is not arguing here that tourism precludes war, or vice-versa; rather, he implies that it is tourism's

1 Bertram 1939, p. 492. In 1936, Bertram began studying Chinese at Yenching University, Beijing, on a travel scholarship from the Rhodes Trust. He also worked as a freelance journalist for the *Manchester Guardian* and other British newspapers.

2 Bertram 1939, p. 21.

ability to coexist with violence which makes it such a potent force. In his writing then, Bertram attempts to confront this power by valorizing one set of statements (Japan as military aggressor in China) over another (Japan as recreational tourist destination).

North China Front is one of many Anglophone travelogues written and published during the five-year period from the beginning of the second Sino-Japanese War to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Adam Piette, discussing textual responses to war in Europe, notes that "travel writing [...] became the key trope and genre for reports from the real and imaginary-future front."[3] The same may be argued for war in Asia as well. The outbreak of full-scale conflict in 1937 led to a proliferation of book-length reports about Japan, Korea, Manchuria, and China in particular, as well as about sites of projected war such as French Indochina, British Malaya, and Pacific islands. These reports were typically written as narratives of travel, not only by professional travel writers, but also by journalists, political activists, poets, and novelists. Many of these texts approach the war from China: W.H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood's *Journey to a War* (1939) and Robin Hyde's *Dragon Rampant* (1939) recount travels made with the support of the Kuomintang (KMT); Agnes Smedley's *China Fights Back* (1938) and Anna Louise Strong's *China Fights for Freedom* (1939) recount travels with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), then joined with the KMT in the United Front.[4] Other writers, however, because of residence or shipping routes or tour itineraries, used Japan as a base, and from there traveled to battlefields, newly-conquered territory, and frontlines on the continent. James Bertram was one such writer, though *North China Front* gives more attention to his time "embedded" with the Eighth Route Army in Shanxi and Shaanxi than his travels in Japan, an affiliation indicated in the rhetorical choices made in the passage quoted above. More commonly, however, travels starting in Japan are often supported, and obviously mediated, by official tourist and other agencies there.

This essay reads official literature produced for the consumption of international tourists to Japan in parallel with a selection of Anglophone travelogues in which Japan is used as a base for travels to wartime China. The travelogues include *Children of the Rising Sun* (1938) by Canadian-born U.S. journalist and children's novelist Willard Price, then resident in Tokyo; *Sky High to Shanghai* (1939), by broadcaster and professional writer Frank Clune, visiting from Australia; *North of Singapore* (1940), by British-born, U.S.-based Carveth Wells, another professional traveler and writer, on a return to the region where he had once lived; and *Petticoat Vagabond in Ainu Land and Up and Down Eastern Asia* (1942) by American travel-writer Neill James, also returning to Japan, where she had previously worked.

Anglophone travelers such as these made up the bulk of foreign visitors to Japan from the 1860s to the late 1930s; consequently, their travels and writing, especially during the Meiji period, have been the subject of some research. Yet there is a need for further critical exploration of Anglophone travel/writing during the 1920s and 1930s, especially

3 Piette 2004, p. 417.

4 Of texts from the second Sino-Japanese War, travelogues by these authors have received by far the most scholarly attention: on Auden and Isherwood, see Bryant (1997), Burton (2014), Haughton (2007), Kerr (2008), Moynaugh (2008), and Youngs (2004); on Hyde, see Clayton (2013); on Smedley, see Kerr (2007) and Moynaugh (2008).

its relationship to imperial Japan.[5] And to be comprehensive, this research needs to take account of the full range of travelogues being written, bought, and read during the period, not just those that have stood the test of time. The travelers and texts selected for this paper buck the typically identified trends of travel writing during the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s. Willard Price's adventure stories excepted, these travel writers are not the "travelling writers"—poets and novelists like Auden, Isherwood, and Hyde—who make up Paul Fussell's seminal study of British travel in the "interwar" period.[6] Nor do they reveal, unlike travel-writing contemporaries more obviously influenced by literary modernism, much interest in formal experimentation.[7] Most significantly perhaps, considering the period in which they are traveling and the events they travel to witness, these travel writers not only withhold clear statements of political affiliation in their works, but seem to object to the very act of taking sides. This refusal distinguishes their travelogues from works about the war in China by Smedley and Strong, for example, and more generally from travel texts by politically-committed contemporaries like George Orwell and Rebecca West. For this reason, these travelogues work as a necessary counter to Bernard Schweizer's claim that "most of the travelers of [the 1930s] were also political radicals."[8]

In examining a set of wartime travel texts that seem unconcerned with literary experimentation or political engagement, I hope to advance critical discussion of twentieth-century travel narrative and its relationship to war which, as Stacy Burton has argued, is often-ignored.[9] Yet I do not wish to suggest that questions of poetics and politics are of little significance in, or for, these texts. Even if questions of form and modes of affiliation are not self-consciously or self-reflexively foregrounded, the particular conditions of traveling in, and on the edge of, empires in the "East" during wartime in the 1930s demanded that all writers make choices—fundamentally political choices—about what to write and how to write it.

In the period after World War I, there were multiple challenges—the diffusion of photography and film, the rise of mass tourism, the professionalization of geography and anthropology, and profound geopolitical transformations—to late nineteenth-century assumptions that the travel book, in the English-speaking world at least, could represent the world and its peoples comprehensively and truthfully.[10] Writers responded, or withheld a response, to these challenges in different—all politically-significant—ways. The outbreak of total war in the 1930s further tested, and reshaped, the underlying assumptions of travel/writing. As Burton argues, the aerial bombing of cities and the internment of civilians—both seen in the second Sino-Japanese War—collapsed distinctions between "home front" and "battle front," "home" and "abroad." In these new conditions, understandings of travel as a physical and metaphorical departure from, then a return to, home no longer held

5 The single largest national group of visitors to Japan over these decades were Chinese, who were then followed by an assortment of the main English-speaking nations. See Nihon Kōtsū Kōsha Shashi Hensan Shitsu 1982, p. 30; Kushner 2006, p. 45; Nakamura 2007, pp. 178–79; and Oikawa in this special issue. For research on Anglophone travel and travel writing during the Meiji period, see Clark and Smethurst 2008; Elliott 2013; Guth 2004.

6 Carr 2002, p. 73; and Fussell 1980.

7 See Burton 2014 and Farley 2010.

8 Schweizer 2001, p. 2. See also Moynagh 2008 on "political tourists" during the 1930s.

9 Burton 2014, p. 120.

10 See Burton 2014.

true. Rather than concluding "in a confirmation, a domestication of the difference and the detour," travel during war threatens to destabilize identities, questioning preexisting frameworks for understanding the world and one's place within it.[11] Margot Norris, discussing war writing more generally, writes: "War is a world-unmaking event, a reality-deconstructing and defamiliarizing activity, [therefore] one of the challenges of war writing is how to make its inherent epistemological disorientation, its sense of experienced 'unreality,' real."[12]

In a world at (or soon to be at) war, orientalism continued to wield a powerful regulatory authority over patterns of signification in early twentieth-century travel texts about the non-European world, just as it had in nineteenth-century European travel texts, precisely because it provided a useful schema to make meaning out of the confusing and complicated "experienced 'unreality'" of war.[13] In short, orientalism allowed travelers to orient themselves in relation to a suddenly altered world by turning to familiar tropes of East–West distinction.[14]

Yet orientalism was also challenged, as well as reworked and reconfigured, by the conditions of total war. If, as Douglas Kerr has suggested, "war is a particularly potent figure in the presentation of the Orient as a place that must seem to an outside observer 'replete with problem and tragedy,'" then total war made it harder to position oneself as "an outside observer," able to return to a civilized, peaceful home at the end of one's journey.[15] Furthermore, the war in China led to new demands on the travelogue as propaganda, which either diminished the efficacy of orientalist tropes or reconfigured them for different agendas. With the escalation of the conflict between China and Japan through the 1930s, a diverse range of attempts were made to utilize English-language travelogues in war efforts, by official agencies such as the Board of Tourist Industry (Kokusai Kankō Kyoku 国際観光局) in Japan, by the KMT and CCP in China, internationalist groups, and Allied intelligence. Anglophone travelers/writers, whether purposefully or not, thus became embroiled in unprecedented ways in a political and military conflict that did not involve any Euro-American powers directly, initially, as combatants.

In travel texts from this period, often-competing discourses intersect and interact, are opposed, interrogated, renewed and resignified, thereby offering a particularly productive case study to consider the struggles over representation—what places, people, and things are made to mean—that are instigated by war. This essay examines one particular discursive encounter, that between nationalist tourism propaganda in Japan and Western orientalism in the wartime Anglophone travel text, and how this shapes representations of the Japanese invasion of China. I begin by discussing the use of international tourism, and tropes of oriental exoticism, as a means of propaganda by Japanese official and semi-official agencies. Following that, I analyze in detail the travel texts introduced above, exploring how the mediation of these travels and travelogues by propagandistic tourist discourses leads to the intratextual occlusion and/or naturalization of Japanese militarism.

11 Iain Chambers, quoted in Burton 2014, p. 120.
12 Norris 2000, p. 24.
13 Said 1979. See Clark 1999 for discussion of this.
14 See Barkawi and Stanski 2012; Porter 2009. Also, Lisle 2016, pp. 77–81.
15 Kerr 2008, p. 159.

Tourism as Propaganda: "What there is behind Military and Political Japan"

As recent historical research has documented, the 1930s was a boom period for the domestic, outbound, and inbound tourist industry in Japan.[16] This shows that from the 1920s through the early 1940s, public and private organizations worked on the promotion of Japan and the empire as a tourist destination abroad, developed tourist sites for foreign tourist consumption, and offered a range of ticketing, guide, tour, and other services to visitors. Although government interest in international tourism initially focused on economic benefits, in the wake of the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident and especially after the outbreak of all-out war in 1937, tourism was increasingly understood in nationalistic terms, as a propaganda tool to challenge international criticism of Japanese military expansionism on the continent and promote national policy abroad.[17]

Various debates occurred about the most effective techniques to change hearts and minds in the Anglophone world, especially the United States. But, as with the Japanese imperial travelers in Manchuria that Kate McDonald explores in this special issue, the importance of firsthand encounters was commonly underlined:

> I sincerely hope that this little book will prove helpful to the cultivated tourist from abroad in satisfying his intellectual curiosity by penetrating more than skin-deep in their observation of things Japanese that have come under his notice in his tour of Japan. I further hope that these "Gleams from Japan" carry sufficient glamour to induce readers in the countries beyond the seas to come in direct contact with their source to know at first hand what there is behind Military and Political Japan […][18]

In the preface to a 1937 collection of his articles from Japan Tourist Bureau's English-language *Tourist* magazine, Katsumata Senkichirō 勝俣銓吉郎 exemplifies a widespread understanding of tourism as an effective, and valuable, form of cultural diplomacy during the 1930s. Here, Katsumata invokes some of modern travel/tourism's most privileged concepts—the priority of depth or interior, desire for the real, and the value of autopsy—for propaganda purposes.[19] Katsumata proposes Japanese militarism, as produced and spread in anti-Japanese international media, as a false front and touristic Japan as the authentic back region which a firsthand encounter will unlock.

The image of "real Japan" constructed by the posters, magazines, exhibitions, and other visual media that were subsequently produced for the consumption (and attraction) of international tourists was relatively consistent.[20] On the one hand, civilizational equivalence with the West was posited on the basis of, among other things, tourism services: Japan offered modern, familiar comforts, making it not only a convenient destination for travel, but also an ideal base from which to explore Korea, Manchuria, and China. On the other, the Japanese empire's "geocultural distinction," both from the West and between constituent territories, as orient(s) was underlined through standard touristic markers of

16 For example, Leheny 2000; Ruoff 2010. Also, Oikawa in this special issue.
17 Leheny 2000, pp. 182–84; Nakamura 2007, pp. 171; Takagi 1999, pp. 309–10.
18 Katsumata 2011, p. vi. Katsumata was emeritus professor of English literature at Waseda University; and the articles were initially published under the pseudonym Waseda Eisaku. See also Kushner 2006, p. 43.
19 See, for example, MacCannell 1976; Thompson 2011, pp. 64–65.
20 See Pai 2010; Tōkyō Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 2016; Weisenfeld 2000.

Figure 1. Poster designed by Satomi Munetsugu for the Second Oriental Tourist Conference. 1936. Tokyo, National Museum of Modern Art. Courtesy of the estate of Satomi Munetsugu.

exotic difference such as "traditional" dress, customs, buildings, landscapes. Combining tropes of modernity and often-radical cultural difference, this empire-branding strategy can be seen as part of an attempt to decouple the concept of "orient" (*tōyō* 東洋) from Western orientalism, resignifying it as "cultural difference, not inherent backwardness." This is *tōyō* as "that which was not the Occident."[21]

Although not ostensibly focused on Japan or its empire, the "Orient Calls" poster designed by the well-known graphic designer Satomi Munetsugu 里見宗次 for the Second Oriental Tourist Conference (第二回東亜観光会議) illustrates the features of international tourism advertising well (figure 1). Sponsored by Japan's Board of Tourist Industry, this conference aimed to bring together a range of organizations involved in tourism across Asia. The second one was planned to be held in Hong Kong in 1937 but the outbreak of war postponed it for two years until October 1939, when it was held in Kyoto.[22] In Satomi's poster for the event, Japan is depicted as a woman in red kimono leading a group of stylized, culturally-distinct figures, each differentiated by size and costume. Behind them can be seen the exotic objects of touristic attention (a half-naked "native" woman—presumably outside the Japanese empire—carrying water, and an elephant) and the modern transport technologies which help mobilize the tourism providers and consumers depicted in the poster's foreground.

21 Tanaka 1993, p. 4, p. 12. See MacDonald 2017 for a discussion of the shift that occurred in the 1930s to a discourse of cultural pluralism in representations of the Japanese empire.

22 The title in Japanese of the first conference was Dai Ikkai Tōyō Kankō Kaigi 第一回東洋観光会議. This was changed for the second conference in accordance with national policy changes. See Gao 2002, p. 150.

Predictably, signs of the war were not included in the images of Japan and empire depicted in promotional campaigns for international visitors. Images of military technology, practices, and people, while not entirely omitted from tourism-related exhibitions and magazines, were not shown in relation to actual combat, in China or anywhere else.[23]

"Independent" Travelers during the Second Sino-Japanese War

Official agencies in charge of shaping Japan's image on the international stage were faced with the problem of judging whether the desired message had been transmitted successfully to target audiences.[24] In the case of tourism, shifts in the number of inbound tourists could be quantified, but the extent to which tours actually influenced the perspectives of travelers was harder to evaluate. For this reason, sponsored tours to Japan and the continental empire by students and educators, in particular, were hosted by official agencies such as the Society of International Tourism (Kokusai Kankō Kyōkai 国際観光協会), a public-private agency under the aegis of the Board of Tourist Industry, and written reports from participants were used as one means of gauging the efficacy of these tours as a form of propaganda.[25]

More than the handpicked and closely-attended participants on these sponsored tours, independent travelers who toured Japan and the region during the second Sino-Japanese War posed a particularly high risk of reading Japan and empire in opposition to official narratives. Such travelers could choose where they went, what they saw, and how they saw it. In addition, when they chose to write down and publish their impressions, they also exercised considerable control over the means of textual production. Foreign journalists stationed in Japan had to depend on censored cable and telephone services to get news articles out, and increasingly risked intimidation from police. In contrast, travel writers based in North America or Britain enjoyed a comparatively large degree of freedom to write and publish what they wanted about Japan.[26]

The travel writers that I focus on here—Willard Price, Frank Clune, Carveth Wells, and Neill James—were not part of official group tours funded by official agencies for promotional purposes. Nor is there any evidence they were employed directly by the Japanese government, though cases of travel writers paid to write positive reports do exist.[27] Indeed, in terms of opinions and itineraries these travelers/writers argue strongly for their independence: "Unlike [the Russian] Intourist, the Japanese Tourist Bureau arranges for you to visit the places you yourself desire to see."[28] Yet their routes bear striking resemblance not

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23 See Yamamoto 2012, pp. 49–51. Important exceptions, inevitably, exist. The photojournalist magazine *NIPPON* contains an article in vol. 27 (1941) called "I Paint the War" by Fujita Tsuguharu 藤田嗣治 (also, Léonard Tsuguharu Foujita) that includes paintings of the Japanese army, navy, and air force in combat in China and, against Soviet troops, at the Battle of Nomonhan (Fujita 1941). It is succeeded by an article on Japanese nursery rhymes.

24 Yamamoto 2012, pp. 44–45.

25 See the 1933 *American Boy* tour described in Nakamura 2007.

26 See chapter 7 of O'Conner 2010.

27 On this practice, see Kushner 2006, pp. 40–43. According to Jacqui Murray (2004, p. 110), Clune's *Sky High to Shanghai* was ghostwritten by friend and longtime editor, P. R. "Inky" Stephenson, who became increasingly known in the late 1930s for his anti-Semitic, pro-German, and pro-Japanese views. There is no evidence to suggest Stephenson received payment for services from Japan, though in 1942 he was arrested on the basis of fascist sympathies by Australian military intelligence and interned for the course of the war (Munro 1992).

28 Wells 1940, p. 42.

only to each other but also to officially-conceived itineraries, and these repetitions suggest extra-personal guidance, above and beyond that found in mass tourism more generally. Officials from Japan Tourist Bureau, South Manchuria Railway Company (Minami Manshū Testudō 南満洲鉄道, or SMR), and other agencies accompany travelers, shaping routes and interpreting what is seen. Some travelers appear to like this. Frank Clune writes his "appreciation of the courtesies afforded to me throughout my journey by the Japanese Foreign Office officials in Sydney and Tokyo in glad-handing a stranger."[29] But travelers such as Neill James see this guidance as a curtailment of privileges.[30]

In addition, their tours of Japan largely follow the itineraries given in the introductory chapters of authorized guidebooks and pamphlets. Independently-produced Anglophone guidebooks had monopolized the Japan travel scene throughout the Meiji period. However, as Oikawa Yoshinobu describes in his essay in this special issue, by the 1930s, the production of English-language tourist information for Japan and empire had become increasingly dominated by public agencies in Japan, and this allowed the government to exercise a large degree of control over tourist routes and ways of seeing. Certainly, in the travelogues analyzed below, all the travelers follow the standard itinerary of must-see places found in *An Official Guide to Japan* (1933), calling at some combination of Yokohama, Tokyo, Nikko, Hakone, Gifu, Kyoto, and Osaka.[31] Even the purported "off-the-beaten-track" trips to Hokkaido made by James and Wells are covered in the later Hokkaido section of the guidebook, as well as tourist literature such as the Japan Tourist Bureau's pamphlet entitled (unsurprisingly) *Touring Japan: Off Beaten Track* (1934). Subsequently, when these travelers leave Japan to begin their tours of the continental empire, they follow the same routes as the official tours of the empire organized by the Board of Tourist Industry, journeying from Shimonoseki to Busan (Pusan), north through the Korean Peninsula into Manchuria and North China, before returning to Japan.

Mobility and the Writing of Empire: "Escap[ing] this […] dusty rush"

These travels are thus structured, not only in accordance with explicitly touristic motivations, but also by dominant narratives of imperial space and time in 1930s Japan. Much as a steamship journey from London via Gibraltar, Suez, Ceylon, and Singapore to Hong Kong worked for many contemporary British travelers, showcasing the West–East expanse of the imperial maritime network, a journey from Honshu to Hokkaido, across to the continent and back enacts the spatial and temporal relations of Japanese imperialism. These tours offered a firsthand experience of the chronology of territorial accretion from the early Meiji period, and the seemingly easy connections between these territories that existed as a result of expansion, echoing the imperial tourism industry's promotion of the empire as "a border-less space" for Japanese travelers.[32] In this way, these Anglophone texts buttress on a structural, narrative level their often explicit expressions of praise about Japanese colonial development, especially transportation infrastructures.

29 Clune 1939, p. 38.

30 James 1942, p. 218.

31 Japanese Government Railways 1933, pp. ccvii–ccx. This was an updated version of volumes 2 and 3 of the multivolume *Guide to East Asia* published in 1914. On this guidebook, see Oikawa in this special issue. It was itself revised for the Board of Tourist Industry's *Japan: The Official Guide* (1941), the last full-length English-language guidebook to be published by Japanese agencies until the postwar.

32 McDonald 2017, p. 90.

In the context of tourism propaganda, Barak Kushner notes the important role that transportation technologies played in Japanese attempts to "prove that it was the most modern, most advanced, and strongest nation in Asia."[33] Western travelers like Clune, James, and Wells who made the journey from Shimonoseki to Busan by ferry, from Busan to Keijō on the *Akatsuki* express train, and from Dalian to Xinjing on SMR's *Asia Express* write very highly of these services. About the ferry to Busan, James declares that "the interior of the upper first-class deck was a different world […] uncrowded, air-conditioned, spacious."[34] On the Asia Express, Clune notes how, "My comfortable seat in the glassed observation carriage at the rear gave me a splendid view of the flitting panorama of field, hill, and sea."[35] Travelers were thus treated to a corporeal—in terms of bodies moving through space, as well as bodily pleasure—demonstration of Japan's modernity, advancement, and strength: the travail taken out of travel, thanks to Japanese technology.

A more developed example of the way in which the narrativization of travel could reinforce imperial ideology is found in Willard Price's political travelogue, *Children of the Rising Sun*. Price followed a similar route to Clune, James, and Wells, and his lengthy, interlinked description of a series of plane journeys from Tokyo, over Korea, to Manchuria reveals the entanglement of the Western traveler within the material and imaginary infrastructures of Japanese imperialism particularly well. Tying distinct territories together like parts of a body, annihilating the distance that separates them through textual and transportive mobility, these passages posit Japanese dominion as an all-but-natural fact:

> A long arm has been flung across Asia. The actuating shoulder is Japan, the upper arm is Korea, the forearm is Manchuria and the fingers tap uneasily on the border-line of Russia.
>
> You are to fly the length of this arm. Beneath will unfold a panorama of Nipponese personality ranging from practical achievement to unspoken dream.
>
> Or if you wish to forget the personality that seeks to remake Asia, and merely enjoy the scenery, you will hardly find a trip on earth more picturesque than this jaunt along the volcanic backbone of Japan; above that perfect picture, the Inland sea, done in water colors; over the sails of the Straits; up through hermit Korea; and across sweeping Manchurian landscapes to the Russia drosky bells of Manchouli [Manzhouli].
>
> […] It is almost a relief to escape this city-in-the-making [Xinjing], whose dusty rush makes New York seems tranquil, and fly north along the track of the quondam Chinese Eastern Railway, now Manchukuo's by right of pressure and purchase from Russia, to the half-Russian city of Harbin. Then west, over the Hsingan [Xing'an] Mountains; over magnificent Mongol prairies teeming with vast herds of cattle or horse; over caravans of camels, moving across the roadless plains, like ships sailing by compass.
>
> Down, finally, at Manchouli on the Russian border.[36]

33 Kushner 2006, p. 44. See also Oikawa in this special issue.
34 James 1942, p. 246.
35 Clune 1939, p. 145.
36 Price 2013, pp. 73–93.

Bernard Schweizer discusses how "the strong imperative" to "take [political] sides" in the 1930s, while not necessarily followed without question by travelers, strongly inflected contemporary English travel writing.[37] Certainly, in texts by many of the most well-known travelers to wartime China, including Bertram, writers announce their alignment with the anti-Japanese cause clearly, as an ethical responsibility. In contrast, the writers analyzed in this essay write frequently of their detachment from politics in general or, differently, isolate the war in China as a localized, thus distant, event that does not concern them. For Neill James, the Japanese occupation of North China "was not my affair"; Frank Clune does not "care who's who, or what's what in politics, or who's right or who's wrong"; while Wells realizes early that "there were two diametrically opposed opinions of the Japanese, and the easiest way to start an argument that developed into a row, was to discuss the war in China"[38]—he chooses, for the most part, not to.

Similarly, Willard Price argues for his own neutrality. Though he acknowledges that bias is perhaps inevitable whether the writer realizes it or not, his text aims to be "neither pro-Japanese nor anti-Japanese."[39] And as he flies over Manchuria, he writes "there is no point in re-arguing here the right and wrong of Japan's occupation […] you may dismiss Japan's past action with 'I'm against it'; and devote yourself now to seeing what you can see—with candid eye and open mind."[40] Price's reasonable appeal for firsthand knowledge and journalistic objectivity is, however, compromised by the technology that delineates his perspective. The invention of the steam train, as Wolfgang Schivelbusch has explored, led to the mobilization of a previously static tourist gaze, in which the world became a series of sights which the traveler, separated from the landscape by the speed of the train, could enjoy in passing.[41] Arguably, this effect is intensified with early air travel. Price's "plane's eye view" (his chapter title) of the empire's stretch prioritizes panoramic spectacle over depth or, put differently, careful evaluation of the political situation. For both traveler and reader, "what you can see" from the air ends up evading the confusions and complications ("the dusty rush"), not least the "right and wrong of Japan's occupation," on the ground.

In this passage, *Children of the Sun* reveals a more fundamental intersection between Anglophone travel texts and wartime tourism propaganda than officially-organized itineraries and the accompaniment of guides. The very rhythm of Price's prose speeds the reader along in implicit analogy with the modern airplanes that Japanese technological and infrastructural development have provided for the traveler, while its recurrent tropes—comfort, speed, connection, luxury—are borrowed, whether consciously or not, from the rhetoric of official tourism advertising, as in the following line of copy from a February 1940

37 Schweizer 2001, p. 142.
38 James 1942, p. 293; Clune 1939, p. 352; Wells 1940, p. 25.
39 Price 2013, p. xiv.
40 Price 2013, p. 89.
41 Schivelbusch 2014, p. 63.

article in *Tourist*: "Who would not travel by a J.A. [Japan Airways] plane, with a pretty air-hostess at his elbow and a constant flow of lovely scenery beneath?"[42]

"According to the local guide-book"

Similar convergences in representational language and imagery occur elsewhere in these travel texts as well. Frank Clune is quite open about his frequent, apparently uncritical and unironic, quotations from official tourist literature: "According to the local guide-book: The Manchurian incident was started by the insolent explosion of the railway track near the North Barracks, which was executed by the Chinese Regular Soldiers stationed at the North Barracks."[43] But, as travelers often attempted to differentiate their travels/writing from those of other tourists, this level of candor is uncommon. More typical is Neill James, who—without mention of her sources—appears to borrow from official guides when describing cormorant fishing in Gifu or, as below, traveling by train past (and not actually calling at) the shrines at Ise:

> This district is famous because one of the two national shrines of Japan is situated between the two cities. On occasions of national importance, such as the declaration of war or the signing of an important treaty, the Emperor travels from his palace in Tokyo to report the matter to the Spirit of his Ancestress, the Sun Goddess to whom the Shrines of Ise are dedicated. In simplicity the unpainted shrines represent the archaic Japanese architecture which prevailed before the introduction of the Chinese style of temple structure, the crossed beams on the roof and wooden frames being patterned after structures of pre-historic Japan.[44]

A comparison of James' explanation of the Ise shrines with the following passage taken from *An Official Guide to Japan* reveals unmistakable similarities in tone, details, and phrasing:

> The Naikū is dedicated to Amaterasu-Ōmikami, the Sun Goddess, who is regarded as the Ancestress of the Imperial House of Japan […]. The Shrines, which are unpainted, are constructed of hinoki (Japanese cypress) from the Crown forests in the Kiso mountains. In form they represent the archaic Japanese style that prevailed before the introduction of Chinese architecture, the crossbeams on the roof and the wooden

42 Joya 1940, p. 2. On aviation, tourism, and the Japanese empire, see Ruoff 2010, pp. 113–14. Until its postwar boom, air travel was too expensive for most recreational travelers, and though associated in the public imagination with the rich and famous (and related tropes of leisure and luxury), in the British Empire it was used mainly for work by government officials and businessmen. However, as Gordon Pirie (2009) convincingly argues, all air travel in the 1930s was to some degree "air touring" and all air passengers "sightseers" (p. 55), whatever their final destination or motivation—the relatively low flying altitude, as well as the novelty of aerial views, meant that scenery on the ground was unlikely to be ignored, and the need for frequent refueling turned intermediary colonial stopovers into sites of luxury, exotic, and adventure tourism, even if just for a few hours. Willard Price's writing of the air journey from Tokyo to Manzhouli illustrates these features well.

43 Clune 1939, p. 165.

44 James 1942, p. 242.

> frames on the top being after the pattern of prehistoric structures, uninfluenced by Chinese design.[45]

In the case of imperial tourism by travelers from metropolitan Japan or colonial tourism to the metropole by travelers from colonized lands, accounts often reveal a great deal of pre-knowledge about the places visited, and visitors actively engage with and sometimes even challenge the underlying or dominant meaning of sites, as shown by McDonald.[46] Though their itineraries are often similar, the Anglophone travelers analyzed in this paper, by contrast, usually lack detailed understanding of what they see, and only rarely question or complicate the official line.

The Oriental Exotic Reconfigured

The replication of nationalist framing of tourist sites as well as other sites in these travel accounts extends also to the means by which cultural difference—between Japan and the West, and between Japan and continental neighbors—is produced. Carveth Wells, in a well-established convention, finds traces of the exotic picturesque in the interior, especially at the Ainu village in Shiraoi, and in Gifu, when cormorant fishing. Frank Clune, in *Sky High to Shanghai*, offers a typical first impression of arrival in Japan: "Cherry Blossom Land."[47] Neill James is more effusive in her praise. At the beginning of *Petticoat Vagabond*, she writes that Japan is "fairylike […] a traveller's dream of a beautiful land. I love the charming landscapes, the grace and symmetry of her famous Sacred Mountain."[48] In closing her account, she turns again to "Fujiyama […] sacred symbol of the lofty, beautiful, ephemeral and artistic spirit that is Japan."[49]

In addition, these exoticist impulses carry through to travelers' continental travels as well. Again, *Petticoat Vagabond* provides some particularly fruitful episodes. In Korea, after praising the modern development of Keijō under Japanese rule, James heads off the beaten track (in her own words) to Heijō in search of traditional Korea:

> The best place to see native life is in the public market place. Beneath white canopies stretched across an area between red-tiled buildings, vendors gathered daily and spread their wares. Whenever I think of Korea, I think of white, clean white. Both men and women at the market were clad in freshly starched grass linens, the swinging cars and voluminous skirts were a sea of billowing white […][50]

In these passages, James offers examples of timeless, unchanging "native life" as proof of an authentic travel experience: her discovery of a "real Korea of old days" still untouched by

45 Japanese Government Railways 1933, p. 380. Tellingly, the later edition of the guidebook begins with a more forthright expression of divine lineage: "The Naikū is dedicated to the Goddess Amaterasu-Ōmikami, who is the Ancestor of the Imperial House of Japan […]" (Board of Tourist Industry 1941, p. 635). Noting this revision underlines the more-unusual gendering of "ancestress" found in both quotes above, and thus points to a direct (uncited) quotation on James' part.

46 McDonald 2017, p. 47.

47 Clune 1939, p. 34.

48 James 1942, p. 22.

49 James 1942, p. 310.

50 James 1942, p. 258.

modernization, unsullied by other tourists.[51] For this claim to be convincing, however, James must occlude her Japanese guides, as well as other signs of colonial presence and power, from the narrative.

Travel representations of precisely this kind are common enough in Western orientalist writing, but the specific context in which they are employed here proposes new import. While the seemingly clear-cut binaries, and spatial, temporal, hierarchical and other divisions central to orientalism are visible, these no longer function—or not primarily or effectively, at least—to justify Western authority to represent and rule Eastern others. During the period 1937–1941, this authority was being materially contested, of course, not least through the continuing expansion of imperial Japan into areas of previously-Western spheres of influence. On a symbolic level as well, there were explicit attempts to experiment with new modes of representation in other travel writing about the region; but, as noted in the introduction, this rhetorical experimentation is not obviously on display in most of the Japan-based texts analyzed here. In these accounts, Western orientalist discourse is challenged in a quite different way, in the interplay between exoticist images found in nationalist tourism propaganda in Japan and Anglophone travel representations. Orientalist signs of difference between West–East are not abandoned here: rather, this intertextual exchange implies the replacement of one imperialism with another, resignifying these signs for new political purposes. In short, these texts' exoticization of Japan and its colonial possessions conforms with state-sanctioned promotions of the oriental nation and harmonious relations throughout the multicultural empire; and this benign image works to temper critical readings of colonial and military expansion on the continent, much as tourism strategists hoped.

Picturing the "War"

According to these travel accounts, Japanese territories on the continent—like the main islands—are ideal destinations for the pleasure-seeking tourist. Japanese rule is shown to be deeply transformative (in terms of improvements to transportation, urban planning, health, education and industry, and so on) and, at the same time, immensely unobtrusive, leaving authentic landscapes and lifestyles in Korea, Manchuria, or North China untouched and ready for the off-the-beaten-tracks exploration of visitors. The choice of photographs in these accounts typifies this representative strategy well. As readers, we know that photography of all kinds, including tourist photography, was carefully policed by Japanese and colonial authorities; the limitations on what and where could be photographed is a common travel complaint, and Frank Clune, Neill James, and Carveth Wells all write of run-ins with the police about the issue.[52] Yet, looked at alone, the photographs in the published texts reveal nothing about this process of censorship. Rather, the messages they transmit are very much in line with official propaganda, of peaceful coexistence across the empire, exotic customs, and effective modern developments. A particularly evocative, but by no means unusual, example is found in Wells' *North of Singapore*, which offers two pages of photographs to accompany his travels in wartime China. In these, Beijing (Peking) is given as a sign of traditional, touristic China, while the glamourous, bustling, cosmopolitan Bund works

51 James 1942, pp. 258 and 254.

52 Clune 1939, pp. 70–77; James 1942, p. 87; Wells 1940, pp. 59–60.

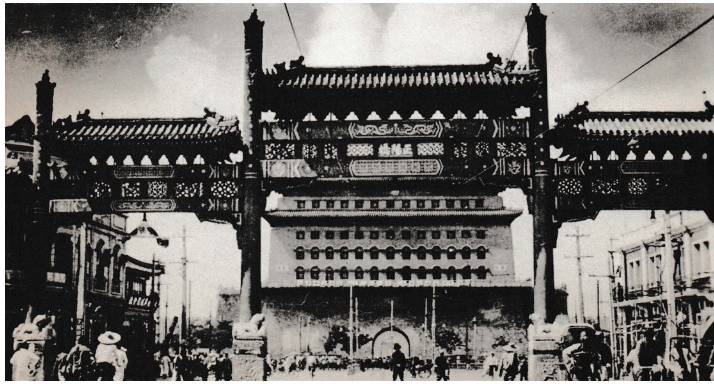

Figure 2. Photograph of occupied Beijing (Peking) from *North of Singapore*, accompanied by the caption: "Peking still looks the way you think China should look, and it's fascinating." Wells 1940.

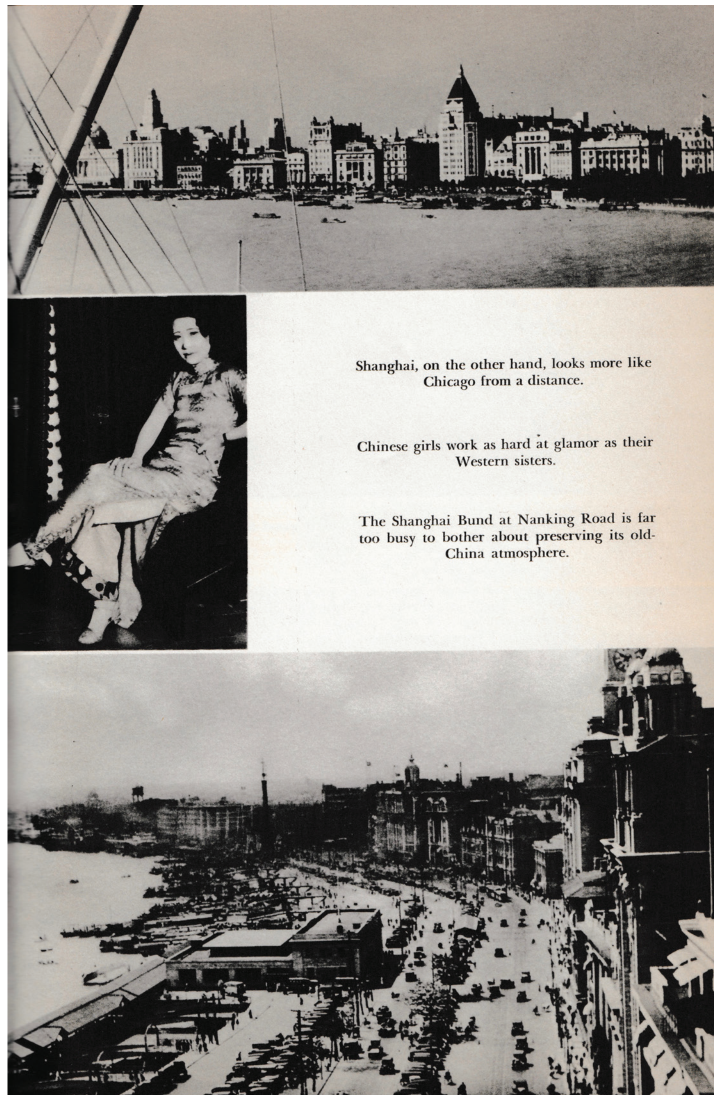

Figure 3. Photographs of Shanghai, given as Beijing's antithesis, from *North of Singapore*. In this dialectic production of touristic "modern" versus "tradition," the war gets overlooked. Wells 1940.

Figure 4. The most explicitly war-related image of China in *Sky High to Shanghai*, a grainy photograph entitled "Shanghai—Japanese soldiers deployed in the streets." Clune 1939.

as synecdoche for occupied Shanghai (figures 2 and 3). Of these texts, it is only *Sky High to Shanghai*, perhaps unexpectedly considering the general tenor of Clune's account, that illustrates a visit to China with obviously war-related images (figure 4).

Evidently, photography in these particular wartime travel texts is neither a form of socially-engaged documentary, recording what has happened in war so that it is not forgotten, nor a critical commentary on the language and ethics of war reporting as a distanced observer.[53] Rather, in correspondence with the tone, content, and infrequency of explicit statements about the conflict in China that are made in these accounts, photography can be understood as part of a process of occluding either the war as a whole or, more specifically, a Chinese perspective on it.

Home Front Japan

In that these accounts all begin in Japan, or on the way there on a Japanese-owned vessel, travelers first encounter the war from the perspective of the Japanese home front. Carveth Wells, making the crossing from San Francisco to Yokohama on the NYK ocean liner *Asama Maru* in July 1939, writes that most of the other first-class passengers are Japanese. The hospitality they receive on the ship includes not only excellent laundry and cleaning services, and entertainment at sukiyaki and *hanami* parties on deck, but also private explanations of the invasion of China that mirror official proclamations.

In many cases, however, the war is not a frequent topic in travelers' writing of their Japan tours. When it does come up, emphasis is usually placed on the effects of the war on Japanese domestic and social life, focusing on everyday depravations and sacrifices. The rationing of gasoline, food, and clothing is frequently described, as are common civilian

53 These functions of contemporary travel photography are discussed in relation to writing about the Spanish Civil War and the second Sino-Japanese War in Bryant 1997 and Moynagh 2008, pp. 93–98.

responses to these restrictions, such as the emergence of black markets and the development of *sufu* スフ, a staple-fiber made of wood pulp which quickly disintegrates upon washing. While rationing of some kind or another had been "a fixture of life in Japan since 1938," in many of these texts it is approached as a novel object for the tourist gaze, though even then it is soon put aside in favor of more conventional sightseeing spots.[54] The difference here with contemporaneous travelogues by "political tourists," to use Maureen Moynaugh's term, is striking.[55] Carl Randau and Leane Zugsmith, who begin their long Pacific tour in Japan, spend chapter after chapter describing the war's negative effects on the Japanese home front: rationing, but also the suppression of critical voices, imprisonment of dissidents, contraction of wages, and restrictions on social life.[56] Neill James, traveling in Japan in precisely the same period, discusses "War-Time Tokyo" in one early chapter before going on a tour of the "sub-Yoshiwara" red-light district.[57] It is almost as if they are describing different countries.

Travelers, it might be argued, focused primarily on the civilian effects of the war, or indeed avoided lengthy exposition of Japan-at-war, for the simple reason that military sites in Japan were almost entirely closed off to them. The rare encounters with soldiers that do take place on the home front are therefore used as a means to authenticate and authorize travels and writing. The sending-off of soldiers to the battle front, and the return of the injured and war dead—these home-front rituals of the nation at war become the new back regions of tourism during this period, the valorized spaces and sights that the common visitor does not get to see:

> The vessel was drawn up alongside the wharf and the rest of the train passengers were already going aboard. Once again we rebelled and soon were rewarded by a sight that few foreigners have ever witnessed […]. Suddenly about a dozen soldiers marched up the gangplank. They were fully armed, carrying flags and walking very slowly and stiffly. Behind them in single file came more soldiers, but these were not armed. Around the neck of each man and suspended in front by means of white gauze, were three white boxes. Each box, about nine inches square and six inches deep, beautifully done up in snow white gauze, contained the ashes of a soldier who had been killed at the front […]. I have witnessed important military funerals in several countries, but this was the most impressive. It was obvious from the faces of the relatives that they were suffering deeply from the loss of their loved ones, but their dignity and control was remarkable. The expression on the faces of the soldiers who carried the ashes told a heartbreaking story.[58]

In detailing the sacrifices being made for the war in Japan, these writers rarely attempt to make a wider point about war suffering or responsibility, in contrast to James Bertram, who tries to construct transnational links between Japanese and Chinese workers on the basis of shared exploitation. Instead, such descriptions of the home front produce a largely

54 Yamashita 2015, p. 14.
55 Moynaugh 2008.
56 Randau and Zugsmith 2013, pp. 3–111.
57 James 1942, pp. 4–10.
58 Wells 1940, pp. 52–53.

empathetic view of the war as experienced in the interior of Japanese society, which leads in turn to a sympathetic framing of the war as it is conducted by the military outside Japan.

Wartime China: "an atmosphere of peace and calm"

When travelers leave Japan and journey, via Korea and Manchuria, to North China, they enter into areas of military occupation and recent conflict where it might be expected they come face-to-face with the most visible, most violent consequences of the war for the first time in their travels. However, as the use of illustrative photographs typifies, texts tend to limit discussions of the war's effects in China through a variety of means. Some travelers, for example, shift the focus back to conventional tourist activities such as souvenir shopping and sightseeing:

> Leaving this atmosphere of war [at the Marco Polo Bridge], we returned to Peking. At the Tung Hsing Lou Tavern, we engulfed pigeon-egg soup, shark's fin sautè and bamboo-shoots, and then, feeling philosophic, we rickshaw past the glittering tiled palaces and temples of the Inner City, to an atmosphere of peace and calm at the Shrine of Confucius.[59]

This is a very similar rhetoric to that used in travel articles published in the English-language *Tourist* during the same period. The war disappears from view, and tropes of harmony, relaxation and, crucially, "peace" come into play as the defining features of this travel site, as in this concluding sentence from a 1940 article on Beijing: "We have found the spirit of Peking, impervious to change, yet kindly and benevolent, proud and peaceful."[60]

At other times, authors offer explanation of military intervention, its progress and rationale, that fit the official narratives in Japan, such as the fight against communism, the bringing of law and order to a failed state, or the problem of "Chinese trickery" in warfare.[61] In addition, travelers also play down the effects of the war by underlining (cultural, geographical, historical) alterity in Chinese experiences of, and responses to, death and destruction. "In endless ways," writes Carveth Wells after witnessing massive flooding around Tianjin, "the Chinese are different from us."[62] In these accounts, China's war with Japan is understood as just another point on an endlessly revolving cycle of disaster: "And so they survive, changeless amidst cataclysms, wars, famines, floods, droughts, pestilence and banditry—the eternal sons and daughters of Han."[63] In naturalizing the second Sino-Japanese War, questions about the war's causes, the possibility of solidarity with its victims, or ethical arguments for an active response are bypassed. Travelers such as Wells detach their impressions of the war in China from their impressions of Japan as travel site, thereby buttressing the pacific image of Japan given in promotional campaigns aimed at international tourists, as well as providing evidence for the efficacy of tourism as an instrument of cultural diplomacy during wartime.

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59 Clune 1939, p. 242. For other examples, see Wells (1940, pp. 98–99) and James (1942, pp. 299 and 301).

60 Weld 1940, p. 13. See also articles about Shanghai in the May 1940 and Hangzhou in the March 1941 editions of *Tourist*.

61 James 1942, p. 300. See also Wells (1940, p. 97).

62 Wells 1940, p. 94.

63 Clune 1939, p. 234. See also James on the "many masters" of Beijing through its history (1942, p. 295).

Conclusion: On and Off Propaganda's Beaten Tracks

In the final chapter of *Petticoat Vagabond in Ainu Land*, Neill James recounts her journey back to Japan from wartime Beijing to Moji: "I was back in Japan once again. How green and beautiful and friendly was Japan."[64] The trope of safe homecoming, though a conventional one in travel writing, is here employed somewhat ambiguously in relation to Japan, the familiar-yet-exotic place that literally and figuratively frames James' travels/text: Japan is the point of departure and return for her tour, the location where her travelogue starts and ends, and a significant influence on James' writing of the region and its politics. James Bertram also finds Japan a relief from the discomforts, dangers, and horrors of the battle front in China's northwest, as seen in the passage cited at the beginning of this essay; but, acknowledging its propagandistic potential, he fights against the pull of a harmonizing touristic gaze:

> Would they sit so placidly, these well-fed passengers, I wondered, if they looked out from their windows not on quiet towns and sunny orchards, but on a depopulated countryside, haunted by the shapes of grossly-fattened dogs (only the dogs fed well in China, these days), while thirty million people fled westwards to escape the "friendly" Japanese armies? I wanted to bring this picture into that crowded railway carriage, the real picture of the war….
>
> But people in Japan saw only another picture, as I realised when I took up some of the illustrated magazines from the tourist car. Here were coloured photographs of Soochow [Suzhou] and Hangchow [Hangzhou], Japanese officers boating on the lake, Japanese soldiers feeding sweets to children, Chinese peasants waving the flag of the Rising Sun to greet their conquerors. It was a lie, just as the tranquil and prosperous air of these islands was a lie. But how many Japanese knew that?[65]

Bertram is fairly explicit here about the dangers of hospitality (in the touristic sense, and in terms of a welcome offered to guests, visitors, and strangers) as a means of cooption. Exploring the concept of hospitality in terms of self/other encounter, Jacques Derrida has argued that the selection of "those to whom [the hosts] decide to grant […] the right of visiting" is an act of power that affirms "the sovereignty of oneself over one's home."[66] Read thus, the selection of tourist visitors by Japanese authorities during the second Sino-Japanese War may be understood as a calculated welcome that aims to incorporate visitors within the host's vision of the world.

As explored above through the analysis of Anglophone travelogues, this use of international tourism as propaganda, a means of promoting a particular vision of the world, was often a success. Whatever travelers' avowed affiliations may have been at a formal and narrative level, their texts are largely positive about Japan, representing it as a benign travel destination and the war itself as an often distant, disconnected event. Employing travel writers—whether directly or not—had the potential for official messages to reach a much

64 James 1942, p. 309.
65 Bertram 1939, p. 492.
66 Derrida 2000, p. 55.

wider audience than simply through the travels of individual tourists, via the production of popular and widely-read books.

Yet there are obvious limits to the shaping of travel responses by tourism propaganda. Primarily, the capacity of official agencies to guide travels and texts outside of Japan or the colonies was, of course, much reduced. Certainly, travelogues from Republican China by Auden and Isherwood, Robin Hyde, and others reveal very different perspectives on the conflict. Second, tourism propaganda had to struggle against other types of information about the war, a struggle which it lost in the end. As Peter O'Conner argues in reference to news sources, the "contradiction between shocking but highly newsworthy events on the ground [in China] and the case Japan advanced to justify its agenda" meant that Japanese propaganda gained little influence over Western readers even after the Foreign Ministry (Gaimushō 外務省) secured control over English-language press networks in East Asia during the period 1937 to 1941.[67] The same might be suggested for tourism as well: conflicting information about the progression of the war in China made the touristic image of Japan a much harder sell internationally.

And even in the case of Japan-based travels, travelers/writers were free to go off the beaten tracks mapped out in official promotions. In *North China Front*, James Bertram bookends his travels/text with Japan, and he writes of his enjoyment of the natural landscape and urban attractions, but nevertheless aligns himself politically and poetically against the Japanese military state. In contrast to Frank Clune, for example, Bertram's text makes explicit the connection not only between what is happening on the battle front in China and the home front in Japan, but also between China's home front and that in Japan, bringing an "other" perspective on the war into the "tranquil and prosperous air of these islands." Elsewhere too, Bertram undermines the rigid, nationalist framing of tourist sites. Describing cormorant fishing in Gifu, he makes no mention of the imperial connections or ancient pedigree central to guidebook (and Neill James') explanations, but instead resignifies it as a sign of the exploitative economics behind Japanese militarism. Later, he proposes a new "must see" stop on the tourist itinerary: the "coolie" laborers at Moji who "were coaling our vessel. This is one of the sights of Japan (only less celebrated than Mount Fuji, and more visible)."[68] In these passages, Bertram not only fortifies himself against cooption by hospitality, but makes hospitality work in other, challenging ways. Like uninvited guests brought into Japan from the Chinese side of the battle lines, his counter-narratives on the war unsettle—intratextually at least—the sovereignty of nationalist narratives and images in propaganda.

Stacy Burton has argued that the "calamitous wartime of total war muddies conventional distinctions between witnesses who bear immediate knowledge and spectators who watch from a distance, reporters who experience war as it happens and travelers who view its prelude or aftermath."[69] Bertram makes this "muddying" of the boundaries separating combatant and noncombatant, spectator and witness, observer and participant, the subject and aim of *North China Front*; and he insists on the violence of the war as a collective experience, from which there can be no fully justifiable escape. In contrast not

67 O'Conner 2010, pp. 313–14.
68 Bertram 1939, pp. 13 and 39.
69 Burton 2014, p. 124.

just to Bertram, but also to most of the wartime travel texts picked up in recent scholarship, Clune, James, Wells, and Price appear to struggle little with the political or representational challenges of writing about and traveling to war. On the evidence of their travelogues, they do not see the role of travel and writing in terms of a "witness to violence," nor do they feel the need to "push narrative strategies to the limit to write the inarticulable and represent the incomprehensible."[70] Rather, it is the opposite. As the above reading has shown, their texts either occlude wartime violence, or localize and naturalize it as a problem of the East, a distant and different place "'replete with problem and tragedy.'" To put it another way, when faced with the "world-unmaking event" of total war, these texts turn to the representational frame of orientalism as a means to order the world and the war in an already-familiar way: they make an unprecedented moment precedent.

To this extent, this essay supports arguments previously made by Porter, Barkawi, and Stanski on orientalism and war. In addition, however, it suggests a second reading: that these travelogues were, at the same time, willing or unwilling participants in a wide-scale discursive repurposing of Western orientalism that was being actively managed by Japanese state and nonstate actors via a diverse range of cultural practices and events in the 1930s and early 1940s, including but not limited to inbound tourism and its promotion. In these attempts to positively shape the image of Japan on the international stage, and counter negative reporting of Japanese militarism, there is a complicity between Western orientalist discourses and Japanese self-representations, as signs and sites of exotic difference, traditional customs, and the picturesque become the centerpiece of tourism marketing campaigns and tours, for example.

In thus arguing that orientalist discourse supports modern Japanese imperialism as well as European imperialism, this essay contributes to the understanding of two still-understudied imperial travel practices, namely, visitors from one empire in another, and inter-imperial cooperation.[71] Although relations between Japan and the main European powers with colonial empires in the region were, by the 1930s, in a process of deterioration that would result in war, the above reveals not only competition and rivalry but also ideational exchange. Previous comparative research on Japanese colonial discourse from a postcolonial studies perspective has explored the processes of adaptation and mimicry that translated tropes of savagery and primitivism into the discursive space of Japanese colonialism.[72] This essay expands on this, showing how other tropes could be utilized for different audiences and different purposes. In this case, stereotypes culled from the transnational archive of the touristic (oriental) exotic are aimed at an Anglophone audience to obfuscate the workings, in particular militarism and its violence, of Japanese imperial power rather than exhibit or justify them.

As historians of the Japanese empire have explored in recent years, tourism within the empire was a technology that produced "affective ties" of citizens to colonized lands and colonized subjects to the metropole.[73] It worked as a form of "self-administered citizenship training" by which people were "mobilized and mobilize[d] themselves behind the

70 Burton 2014, p. 126.
71 See, for example, Oppenheim 2005 and Clarke 2009 on this practice.
72 See, for example, Tierney 2010.
73 McDonald 2017, p. 16.

prevailing national ideology."[74] Yet the efficacy of tourism to create affective connections to the nation, to mobilize people behind a national ideology, is perhaps most tellingly revealed by the examples of the Anglophone travelers given above. These are independent, short-term visitors, over whom the disciplinary apparatus of the state can exert little, lasting control. For the most part, they have no deep ties to Japan, and they arrive at a time of rapidly deteriorating relations between Japan and their home countries. Nevertheless, at least as their travelogues record, the practice of touring Japan and its empire—planning routes, buying tickets, reading guidebooks, consulting maps, riding boats, trains, and planes, sightseeing, taking photographs, buying food, drink, and souvenirs, and writing accounts—worked on these travelers too, incorporating them, with few exceptions or challenges, into a Japanese nationalist vision of the second Sino-Japanese War and regional geopolitics.

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From Decoy to Cultural Mediator: The Changing Uses of Tourism in Allied Troop Education about Japan, 1945–1949

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This paper explores the role of tourism in soldier indoctrination by applying the concept of the "militourist gaze"—ways of representing, perceiving, and interacting with others that combine militarism and tourism—to analyze Allied military media, soldier memoirs, and photographs from World War II and the Occupation of Japan. The first part of the paper shows how in guides to Japan for U.S. military personnel published in the closing stages of the war, the tourist gaze is blamed for blinding the U.S. to Japan's war plans. The second and third sections explore how the privileges of the Occupation enjoyed by the Allied military were reinforced through participation in bombsite and sex tourism in the immediate postwar. The final two sections focus on the late 1940s, and argue that, with Japan being recast as a vital Cold War ally, Occupation soldiers were gradually encouraged to forget World War II and embrace prewar touristic notions of their former enemy. The paper concludes that both during war and the Occupation, the militourist gaze became a tool in Allied army soldier indoctrination. Over the short span of four years (1945–1949), soldier education regarding Japan shifted from utilizing this gaze to intensify hatred and suspicion to encourage friendship and trust. The militourist gaze, the author argues, is vital not only in building amity and overlooking past hatreds to form new war alliances, but also in mobilizing soldiers for war.

Keywords: tourist gaze, tourist-soldier, militourism, military media, photography, indoctrination, World War II, Allied Occupation, Japan, cross-cultural encounter

Introduction

In the final climactic months of a "war without mercy," as appallingly high casualty rates were recorded at Iwo Jima and elsewhere, and a planned invasion of the Japanese mainland threatened further Allied soldier deaths, the U.S. Army released a guidebook for its soldiers

that took aim at an unexpected enemy: the tourist gaze.[1] "Many Americans think of Japan as a land of cherry blossoms, painted tea cups, giggling damsels, and Mount Fuji," the booklet explains, before stating, "This is the story-book and fairytale version. It is not the twentieth century reality."[2]

Why, after demonizing Japanese to the extent that soldiers had become desensitized to their indiscriminate killing, did the U.S. Army feel the need to warn soldiers about the dangers of believing in touristic imagery?[3] What does this example indicate about the relationship between war and tourism, as well as the uses of tourist discourse in war? How did the U.S. and other Allied armies deal with this tourist gaze as their relationship with Japan transformed in the early and later stages of the Occupation?[4] What part did the tourist gaze play in shaping the perceptions of Japan held by U.S. and other Allied Occupation soldiers, and how did this gaze mold their behavior? This paper seeks to answer such questions, and so help form a better understanding of how tourism can become a tool of indoctrination, war, and peace.

Previous research has established that overlaps between war and tourism are multiple and complex, including in ways central to the concerns of this study, such as how soldiers may perceive and behave like tourists while in conflict or stationed abroad, or the utilization of tourism in propaganda efforts to shape foreign views of war and conflict.[5] However, the role of tourist discourse in army education and indoctrination—such as that found in the U.S. Army guidebook discussed above—has received comparatively scarce attention.[6] As will be explored in the paper, by the early to mid-twentieth century tourism had become such an ubiquitous practice and powerful discourse in modern societies that the U.S. and other Allied armies came to draw on it in soldier indoctrination.

This paper uses the concept of "gaze"—connected ways of seeing, representing, acting, and interacting with the surrounding world—and explores how "tourist gazes," "militarist gazes," and hybrid "militourist gazes" were utilized in army media produced for Allied soldiers.[7] Carolyn O'Dwyer has defined the concept of the militourist gaze as "a visual point of violence where the scopophilic gaze of the desiring tourist meets the eye of military surveillance."[8] O'Dwyer and others have used the concept to reveal how in cases of war, occupation, and at military bases abroad the privileged, objectifying, and consuming gaze of tourism can combine with the masculine, controlling, and belligerent gaze of the military. These gazes reinforce each other and form unique ways of perceiving and interacting with the world.

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1 The term "war without mercy" is John Dower's (Dower 1986).
2 USAFIED 1945, p. 31.
3 Dower 1986.
4 This paper primarily focuses on the U.S. Army, but in order to better understand the Allied Occupation as a whole it also considers materials from the New Zealand contingent of BCOF (British Commonwealth Occupation Force).
5 Buchanan 2016; Gerster 2008; Gonzalez, Lipman, and Teaiwa 2016; Holguin 2005; Kushner 2006; Lisle 2016; O'Dwyer 2004.
6 For notable exceptions to this, see DeRosa 2006; Laderman 2009; Shibusawa 2010.
7 For simplicity, I refer to these diverse gazes primarily in the singular. However, they can also be conceived of in the plural, such as when breaking down "tourist gazes" into romantic, group, and postmodern tourist gazes. See Urry and Larsen 2011.
8 O'Dwyer 2004, p. 36. For more, see Ginoza 2016; Lisle 2016.

The paper is divided into the following five parts: the first section examines the U.S. Army's use of tourism in the guidebook quoted at the start of the chapter; the second explores how the Occupation integrated the tourist gaze into military representations of Japan in the early Occupation period, primarily in bombsite tourism; the third looks at the emergence and political function of prostitution as a form of occupation tourism; and the fourth and fifth analyze the role of photography, distance, and the militourist gaze in the Occupation army's reshaping of soldier practices and attitudes towards Japan in a Cold War context.

Treachery and Tourism

The 1945 *Pocket Guide to Japan* was part of a larger series covering tens of countries produced by the Army Information Branch (AIB) of the Information and Education Division (IED) of the U.S. Army, which produced film, radio, and print media for U.S. soldiers.[9] The AIB also published the two primary newspapers of the U.S. military, *Yank* and *Stars and Stripes*, analysis of which is the primary focus of the analysis of the Occupation period in parts two to five. For the AIB and other branches of the military, the guidebooks played an important role in troop indoctrination. Guidebook author identities remained secret, and content was thoroughly reviewed at various levels of the military and at the State Department.[10] Though definite dates are not clear, the 1945 edition of *Pocket Guide to Japan* was published in mid-1945—before the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—and informed soldiers about their central role in a planned land-based invasion and postwar occupation. Through a series of captioned photographs, the guide's authors draw extensively on tourist imagery to refute, then reemploy, the tourist gaze of Japan.

While the U.S. Army almost certainly took the series' last three photographs during wartime, it is likely that prewar tourists, promoters of Japanese tourism, or anthropologists took the remaining twenty-one.[11] The photos are full-page, take up over one-quarter of the booklet, and are centrally located, intimating their vital role for authors. Through photographs of iconic tourist symbols, and a visual narrative that movie-like develops rapidly and ends dramatically, the sequence of photos is designed to entertain; in this they bear similarity with *Know Your Enemy: Japan* (1945) and other propaganda films of the period.[12] The guide also drew on the popularity of photojournalism and amateur photography to appeal to soldiers of low literacy levels.[13]

Authors linked the booklet's photographs through captions, which serve to develop a three-act narrative across the photo series: prewar tourists had an impression of Japan as peaceful, exotic, and friendly; this impression was a veil concealing Japan's plot for, and secretive advancement towards, world domination by war; finally, this plot was in the process of being thwarted by the U.S. military. This story hinges on the deceptions of prewar tourism, and essentially blames this tourist gaze for Japan's deception of the U.S.

9 Also known as Troop Information and Education (TIE). For more on these, see DeRosa 2006.
10 DeRosa 2006; Laderman 2009.
11 The photo on page 42 was also used in BCOF Occupation guidebooks, indicating that they were available to U.S. allies. BCOF 1946.
12 See Dower 1999.
13 While the U.S. Army required recruits to have at least a fourth-grade education, hundreds of thousands of illiterate men were taught basic reading and writing in Special Training Units. See Kennett 1997, p. 18.

Figure 1. “For years American tourists were impressed and charmed by the strange beauty of the Japanese landscape which filled them with a feeling of peace.” USAFIED 1945, p. 34.

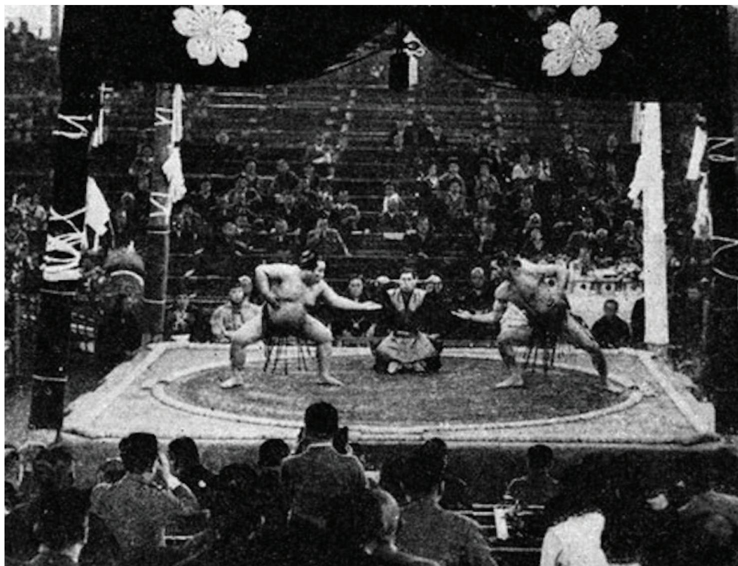


Figure 2. “We were puzzled by their sports—such as ‘Sumo,’ their wrestling, which looked to us like nothing more than fat men pushing each other around with funny ceremonial gestures.” USAFIED 1945, p. 44.

In this story of the war, U.S. tourism is given a central role in a representation of Japan as treacherous.

The topic, framing, and composition of the first eleven photos of this series (see figure 1 and figure 2 for the first and tenth respectively) are typical of prewar tourist photos. They display a beach, rice paddies, pearl divers, silk weaving, tea picking, sumo wrestling, and other images of a traditional and exotic Japan. Accompanying captions then directly tie the photos to this prewar touristic image of Japan: "For years American tourists were impressed and charmed by the strange beauty of the Japanese landscape which filled them with a feeling of peace"; "Practically everything we saw in Japan gave us the idea that it was a peace-loving little country"; "… all-in-all, as prewar tourists, we thought the Japanese were pretty good people."[14]

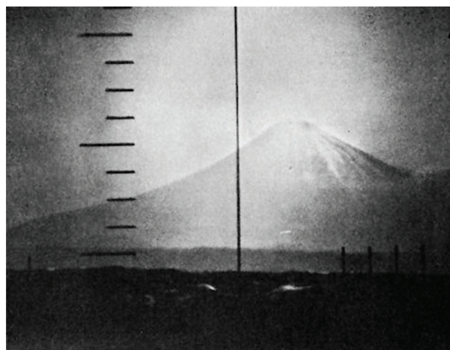
From the thirteenth to the twenty-first photograph, however, the narrative shifts direction to portray this prewar tourist image as a mask concealing Japanese military efforts to mobilize citizens for a war to conquer the world. This transition is effected by the language used, which switches from "Japan" to the derogatory "Jap." Through an assemblage of touristic characters depicted as people Americans may have met while travelling in Japan—boys practicing kendo, pilgrims climbing a mountain, women cleaning a traditional house, a man selling birds (along with, by implication, his young kimono-clad female customer), and a man gazing at Mt. Fuji—the authors implicated diverse objects of the tourist gaze in the country's military aggression. The photos in this section continue to evoke tourism, though one showing a large group of people deeply bowing points to the rise of militarism.[15] Captions specify exactly what was overlooked in the U.S. tourist gaze:

> The little man swimming with his feet out of the water was learning to carry military code messages between his toes "in front of the enemy stealthily." The boys practicing "Kendo" were really strengthening themselves for war by beating each other over the heads with sticks. The bowing and scraping to the Emperor was part of a state religion which made their ruler divine. It was the absolute obedience which the warlords needed to accomplish the Jap mission: "All the world under one roof"—world conquest.[16]

The last four photos draw on tourist imagery in order to close the narrative of the photo series. They transition dramatically from a typical tourist photo of Mt. Fuji (figure 3), to a photo of Mt. Fuji first in the periscope sights of a submarine (figure 4), and then under the wings of a clearly marked U.S. war plane (figure 5), before finishing with the only image showing combat, an overhead photo of bombs hitting factories or storehouse-like buildings in a large port (figure 6). The captions accompany and enhance this transition, starting with a man living near Mt. Fuji:

> The smiling, bowing little man who saw Sujiyama [sic] from his doorway was part of this scheme … a scheme that was to backfire, brining [sic] the periscopes of American submarines within view of Fuji … and swarms of our American war planes to the

14 USAFIED 1945, pp. 34–36, 45.
15 USAFIED 1945, p. 50.
16 USAFIED 1945, pp. 48–50.



Figures 3 (left) and 4 (right): A scenic Mt. Fuji and Mt. Fuji in a submarine's periscopes. USAFIED 1945.

Figures 5 (left) and 6 (right): Mt. Fuji under the wings of a U.S. warplane and bomb destruction below a warplane. USAFIED 1945.

> "sacred" air over her peaks … to bomb and destroy the great factories which spawned the Jap planes the warlords had thought would help them conquer the world.[17]

Mt. Fuji, an iconic prewar and contemporary tourist symbol of Japan, symbolizes the annihilation of a romantic tourist gaze—a peaceful, welcoming, and benevolent Japan —, and Japan's imminent defeat at the hands of the U.S. Army. It is precisely this touristic perspective of Japan that the booklet's authors condemn. The booklet portrays this perspective as a fabrication, and potential source of complacency among U.S. soldiers still at war with Japan and scheduled for mainland invasion and occupation.

The guidebook reflects the widespread popularization of tourist imagery and discourses in contemporary America across social classes. AIB leaders trusted that troops were sufficient "semioticians" of tourism to understand the layered meanings of these tourist

17 USAFIED 1945, pp. 56–59.

symbols, such as the image of Mt. Fuji under the wing of a U.S. warplane symbolizing both the lifting of the tourist veil and Japan's imminent defeat.[18]

In addition, the *Pocket Guide* shows that the heads of the U.S. Army viewed militarist and tourist gazes as incompatible; that the former was accurate and authentic while the latter was misleading and fictional. This division likely drew on stereotypes contrasting the deep insights of the unmediated and independent "traveler" to the superficial understandings of the mediated and dependent "tourist."[19] The U.S. Army's conception of militarist and tourist gazes may also have been common among soldiers: a military newspaper from soon after the war reports an experienced soldier complaining that Occupation recruits are "like a bunch of tourists, and I'm afraid that the Nips are taking them in."[20] Military heads and some soldiers, it seems, believed that tourism provided a false perspective of Japan, while war revealed the reality.

Through representing Japan as treacherous, the U.S. military aimed to sustain enmity and remind soldiers to remain vigilant in preparation for invasion and occupation. However, this representation also has deeper historical significance. Treachery has long been a basic element of Western discourses about the Orient generally, and more specifically, of Western discourses about Japan.[21] Patrick Porter has explained how war in the West is often represented as honest and direct, and war-making in the East as deceptive and duplicitous.[22] The booklet's representation of Japan, in this sense, was built on orientalism.

The idea of Japanese as dishonest took on exceptional significance in Allied responses to the surprise attacks of 7/8 December 1941 on the U.S. Navy Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor, American-controlled Philippines, and British Malaya that initiated the war between Japan and the Allies. The Pearl Harbor attack enraged the U.S. military, political leadership, and general population to the point that the primary motivating force in war with Japan was revenge. As John Dower explains, "The single word favored above all others by Americans as best characterizing the Japanese people [during World War II and the Occupation] was 'treacherous.'"[23]

Pearl Harbor also prompted criticism of U.S. military intelligence and command for underestimating Japan's militaristic capabilities and intent.[24] Though Pearl Harbor is not directly referenced in the series of captioned photos, the portrayal of Japan as treacherous helps to absolve the U.S. of blame for not adequately predicting the attack and protecting the Pacific Fleet: it was not because of the failure of U.S. military intelligence but the veil of goodwill provided by tourism. This representation also posits ingrained Japanese treachery as an explanation for why Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in the first place, and overlooks U.S. embargoes and competition among Euro-American and Japanese imperialist forces in the Asia-Pacific prior to the war.[25] The series of captioned photographs can therefore be read as

18 On tourists as semioticians, see Culler 1981.
19 See MacCannell 1999; Thompson 2011.
20 *Yank* 7.12.1945.
21 For example, see Littlewood 1996; Porter 2009; Said 1995.
22 Porter 2009.
23 Dower 1986, p. 36. The release of information about Pearl Harbor—as well as the Doolittle fliers and atrocities such as the Bataan Death March—was carefully calculated to maintain and inflame hatred towards Japan. See Dower 1986, chapter 3.
24 See Dahl 2013; Dower 1986.
25 See Dower 1986; Gonzalez 2013.

an attempt to stimulate feelings of vengeance and explain the cause of the Pacific War—and Pearl Harbor—in terms of Japan's treachery. In so doing, the series reminds soldier-readers of the primary rationale for risking their lives in war with Japan: vengeance.

The depiction of Japan and the war found in this booklet, therefore, is formed through touristic imagery that vilifies the tourist gaze and affirms the militarist gaze. As will be shown later in the paper, however, these two gazes did not remain polar opposites in military media and photography; they began to merge and blend during the Occupation.

The Occupation and Gazing at Bomb Destruction

Between mid-1944 and August 1945, the U.S. Air Force destroyed many of Japan's urban centers—both industrial and residential—before dropping atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[26] The Soviet Union's declaration of war with Japan helped bring about surrender on 15 August 1945, and on 2 September the official surrender ceremony formally beginning the Allied Occupation took place. The Occupation was commanded by the U.S.A. through General MacArthur and the rest of the SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) leadership headquartered in Tokyo. From 1946, the BCOF (British Commonwealth Occupation Force, which included Australia, India, New Zealand, and Britain) occupied Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, and other prefectures in western Honshu.[27] By the end of 1945 there were already about 430,000 Allied soldiers in Japan, though this number gradually decreased until the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950.[28] From June 1946, these soldiers were joined by tens of thousands of wives, children, and other family members.[29] From 1947, in the context of a rapidly escalating Cold War in Europe and East Asia, and the election of a socialist government in Japan, SCAP policies shifted towards shaping Japan into a democratic, capitalist bulwark in East Asia. As part of this, in September 1949 the Occupation took on a "pro-fraternization" policy, four years after doing so in Germany.

The following sections analyze how the U.S. and Allied military continued to employ the tourist gaze to strategically mold soldiers into their role in shifting relations with Japan. These sections focus primarily on articles in the two major U.S. military newspapers, soldier memoirs, and photographs from the beginning of the Occupation to 1949.[30] These newspapers are *Yank*, a weekly published during the war years with a worldwide circulation of two million, and *Stars and Stripes*, a daily with a circulation of over one million for its European and 70,000 for its Pacific edition.[31] These newspapers were central to the U.S. military's efforts to educate soldiers about the Occupation and were reputedly highly trusted.[32]

For some Occupation soldiers, gazing at the destruction brought about by U.S. bombing provided a motivation for visiting and photographing particular sights. Studies by Ran Zwigenberg and Robin Gerster have revealed that a tourism industry rapidly emerged in postwar Hiroshima catering to Allied soldiers interested in sights and souvenirs of atomic

26 For example, approximately 65 percent of all residences in Tokyo were destroyed. See Dower 1999, p. 45.
27 On the BCOF, see Nish 2013.
28 Kovner 2012, p. 19.
29 Alvah 2007.
30 My purpose here is to point out similarities with touristic stories of travels in many of these accounts of the Occupation; I do not intend to simply equate militarism and tourism. Veteran biographies are invaluable accounts of the events and experiences of war and occupation, and important records of life stories.
31 DeRosa 2006, p. 13.
32 See Roberts 2013.

bomb destruction.[33] For Zwigenberg, Hiroshima and Nagasaki attract people—then and today—because they, like other "dark tourist sites," symbolize the anxieties of modernity, in this case the capacity of modern technologies to destroy humanity.[34] This does not mean that soldier-visitors were necessarily critical of U.S. bombing and weaponry; indeed, they may have visited atomic and other bomb sites out of support for and pride in U.S. military superiority. In addition, the bomb destruction of Japanese cities also dissuaded many soldiers and helped attract them to cities that had escaped widespread destruction.

Wartime and postwar media representations of the destruction of Tokyo often drew on the discourses of popular tourism. In "3 Beaten Cities," a *Yank* article published soon after the war, the reader is given a virtual tour of the mass destruction of Tokyo, Nagasaki, and Hiroshima.[35] As seen in figure 7, the destruction of Tokyo is represented through a photo of two Caucasian men in white, possibly U.S. Navy serviceman, standing in ruins with the tall buildings of Ginza in the background.[36] Since being developed in the 1880s into a tree-lined shopping thoroughfare of brick buildings based on London's Regent Street, Ginza had been a symbol of Japan's Westernization and a center of both domestic and international tourism.[37] For example, in *Terry's Guide to the Japanese Empire* of 1928, the only interwar foreign-authored English-language tourist guidebook series for Japan, Ginza is recommended as one place to visit on a one or two-day tour of Tokyo.[38] In "3 Beaten Cities," the image of Ginza as a Westernized shopping mecca for tourists is suggested through the presence of the impressive Hattori clock building (Hattori Tokei Ten 服部時計店) in the background on the left with its "H" marked roller-doors. Located at the center of Ginza, this building was a prewar symbol of the shopping district and remains so today.[39] The use of a stylized oriental font in the "Tokyo" title further emphasizes the touristic nature of the photo. A similar photograph in a later edition of *Yank* demonstrates the significance of the imagery here. This photo (figure 8) shows sailors and GIs walking in Ginza against precisely the same background.[40]

The foreground of the Tokyo photo from "3 Beaten Cities" in figure 7 is primarily the product of a militarist gaze seeking to observe the devastation wrought upon Tokyo by U.S. aerial bombing. The massive twisted steel beams and columns, on which one figure stands, highlight the tremendous strength of the blasts, as does the centrality, size, and foregrounding of the ruined building. This foreground also has elements of a prototypical tourist photo, such as the traveler abroad surrounded by symbols of a foreign and exotic land. This photo suggests both the domination of Japan by the U.S. and Allies through military destruction, and its ownership and occupation through the militarist gaze of the men standing in and observing the rubble. The photo thus relies on a combination of tourist and militarist gazes. The former is provided by the Hattori building in the background, a landmark of Tokyo

33 Gerster 2008; Gerster 2015; Zwigenberg 2016.

34 Zwigenberg 2014; Zwigenberg 2016. For more on the concept of dark tourism, see Lennon and Foley 2000, as well and De Antoni and Seaton in this volume.

35 *Yank* 5.10.1945.

36 *Yank* 5.10.1945.

37 Fujimori 2004.

38 Terry 1928, p. 121.

39 This building was requisitioned by the Occupation and converted into the Tokyo P.X., a store for Occupation members to purchase everyday goods and souvenirs, around December 1945. Handō 2007, pp. 95, 106; Taiheiyō Sensō Kenkyūkai 2007, p. 205.

40 *Yank* 23.11.1945.

Figure 7. Photo of Ginza from an October 1945 edition of *Yank*. *Yank* 5.10.1945.

Figure 8. Photo of Ginza from a November 1945 edition of *Yank*. *Yank* 23.11.1945.

and symbol of Westernization, wealth, consumption, and tourism, and the latter by the destruction in the foreground, which symbolizes the military destruction and domination of Tokyo by the Allies.

The militourist gaze evident here reemerges at the end of the "3 Beaten Cities" article. The author writes that, while talking to an elderly Japanese man and gazing from a moat towards the partly bombed imperial palace, "a B-29 sightseeing tour roared low over the palace grounds."[41] Not only was this journalist visiting the imperial palace as a sightseer; so too were many Occupation soldiers, including the group observing the palace from the air.

Photographs taken both by the Army Special Service as stock photos for army publications and privately by individual soldiers also show how tourism and militarism overlapped during the Occupation period. Stock photos, primarily overhead shots of sections of Tokyo in which damaged buildings stand among rubble, were provided to soldiers as mementos of their time in the Occupation force.[42] Some personnel found these photos valuable enough to take them home and even keep them for decades as souvenirs. Figures 9 and 10 are one soldier's photos of destruction around the imperial palace and rivers of central Tokyo, perhaps a similar view to that seen by soldiers on the B-29 sightseeing tours mentioned previously. Soldiers and other Occupation personnel not only received photos of the destruction of cities but also took them themselves, such as the 1945 photos of Yokohama and Tokyo in figures 11 and 12.

These stock and personal photos reflect both tourist and militarist gazes, and presumably functioned in a similar manner to typical tourist photos and postcards. They were at least partly intended to be sent or taken home as souvenirs to show family, friends, and others. In addition, they often included major landmarks (for example, the imperial palace) and objects deemed worthy of sightseeing (destroyed buildings and rubble). For members of the Occupation, the photos perhaps also functioned as symbols of the superiority and righteousness of the Occupation.

While some soldiers were attracted to wartime ruins, many tried to avoid them. Soon after Japan's surrender *Yank* reported that the "whole Tokyo Bay area used to be pretty messy due to crowded living conditions, and with the added attraction of Allied bomb damage it should have very little appeal today."[43] A later edition stated that big Japanese cities are "uninteresting" as "their shops, restaurants and theatres are mostly destroyed," while seeing districts "burned flat by our incendiaries gets more depressing the more you see of it."[44] Visiting Kobe, Denton W. Crocker, a member of the Army's 31st Malaria Survey Unit, took a photo of the city's war ruins backed by mountains, and wrote rather dejectedly that it must have been a beautiful city before being bombed.[45] This feeling of being a belated visitor, someone who arrived shortly after the destination lost its exotic charm—typically through its modernization or Westernization—is common in Anglophone writing about the Orient, and can be traced back at least to the nineteenth century.[46] Rather than arousing touristic interest in modernity's destructive force, as is the case with dark tourism,

41 *Yank* 5.10.1945.
42 Military-issued field postcards were provided to U.S. soldiers since at least World War I. Lisle 2016.
43 *Yank* 14.9.1945.
44 *Yank* 9.11.1945.
45 Crocker 1997, p. 259.
46 Behdad 1994.

Figure 9. U.S. Army stock photo titled "U.S. OCCUPIES JAPAN" and with description, "Emperor Hirohito's palace (left) still standing in Tokyo although ill-aimed bombs during last spring's raid leveled the 'outer palace' (right)." Guralnik 1945. Courtesy of David Guralnik.

Figure 10. U.S. Army stock photo of destruction of Tokyo with written note "TOKYO 1945." Guralnik 1945. Courtesy of David Guralnik.

Figure 11. “Damaged Buildings in Tokyo or Yokohama 1945.” U.S. Naval History and Heritage Command online collection, Howard W. Whalen (NH 104425-KN).

Figure 12. “Bomb damage in Japanese city, 1945.” U.S. Naval History and Heritage Command online collection, Howard W. Whalen (NH 104439-KN).

however, this feeling of belatedness leads to disappointment and a desire to find exotic sites unaffected by modernization.

This desire drew many soldiers—primarily in R&R (Rest and Relaxation) time—to travel to destinations away from the devastation of war. Such travel destinations included rural areas but was especially focused on Kyoto, as suggested by a 1945 *Yank* article devoted to the city titled "Old Japan."[47] The article reports on the emergence of a lively tourist trade based around the Occupation forces, explains districts where souvenirs can be purchased, and describes the major red light areas, before concluding that the "sacred city of Japan stands here today, with gaudy rich temples, wealthy prostitutes, and hungry laborers, the only spot on the island that hasn't been destroyed." The article reveals that city leaders were actively attempting to build the economy through attracting Occupation soldier tourists. The journalist interviews the mayor and president of the Chamber of Commerce, and quotes the latter as saying that, "The first step in the rebuilding of Kyoto's lost commerce is to produce souvenirs for the GIs to take stateside with them." In another article from later in the Occupation, Kyoto is described as "the quintessence of Japan" to which "hundreds of visitors flock" for shopping, sights, and history.[48]

In 1949, Kyoto made plans to build a commemorative tower expressing gratitude that the city was not damaged by the war (*hi-sensai kansha kinen tō* 非戦災感謝記念塔).[49] This plan was eventually cancelled due to local opposition, perhaps because, as Nishikawa Yūko 西川祐子 proposes, Kyoto had actually been bombed (though with relatively little damage), and planners expected Kyoto citizens to fund the monument.[50] The idea to build the monument may have been informed by contemporary discussion within Japan about why Kyoto was not substantially bombed.[51]

Representatives of the Kyoto City Tourism Association (Kyōto-shi Kankō Renmeikai 京都市観光連盟会), local politicians, and others, seem to have planned the monument partially to help invigorate Kyoto's economy through attracting more Occupation soldiers. As the "Old Japan" article introduced previously reveals, this strategy began early in the Occupation.[52] Here, it is implied by the planned location of the monument immediately outside Kyoto station, adjacent to a large English sign detailing the war history of the occupying Eighth Army, and opposite Hotel Rakuyō ホテル ラクヨー, the primary hotel in the city for military R&R.[53] A *Stars and Stripes* article describes how representatives of the Occupation force were present at a religious ceremony to consecrate ground chosen for the monument (*jichinsai* 地鎮祭) involving Shinto, Buddhist, and—perhaps in an effort to draw Occupation personnel sympathy and interest—Christian priests. The article describes it as a "peace monument" that expresses "gratitude for passing through the war unscathed

47 *Yank* 14.12.1945. While parts of Kyoto were actually bombed during the war, damage was slight in comparison to the majority of other Japanese cities. See Nishikawa 2017.

48 *Stars and Stripes* 7.11.1948.

49 *Stars and Stripes* 8.10.1949; Handō 2007, p. 125.

50 Nishikawa 2017, p. 223; *Stars and Stripes* 8.10.1949.

51 See Cary 1979. Though not widely known at the time, one reason that Kyoto was not targeted by conventional bombing was that it was—for some time—a primary target for atomic bombing. For more on why Kyoto was not bombed, see Kelly 2012.

52 Nishikawa 2017, pp. 223–24.

53 Nishikawa 2017, pp. 223–24; *Stars and Stripes* 1.8.1948.

by bombs."[54] Army media thus represented Kyoto to Occupation soldiers as an enticing tourist city that had escaped bombing, while Kyoto's leaders attempted to utilize this same discourse to attract more soldier-tourists by providing an additional conveniently located attraction that acted as a symbol of welcome for the Occupation force.

Personal accounts also highlight the significance of Kyoto in the touristic experiences of Occupation personnel. Elvyn V. Davidson, an African-American soldier, later recalled his stay in "old Kyoto," from which he visited hot springs in an outlying town.[55] Though complaining that his two hour trip for sightseeing and souvenir hunting to Kyoto was on a "terribly crowded train," Denton W. Crocker nevertheless wrote that "it was worth it" to visit the "shrine city of Japan."[56] Crocker justified his trip as a visit to "one of the few large unbombed cities," stopped by the "beautiful" former imperial palace, and noted that the "narrow side streets, lined with small shops are the main attraction" of the city.

Kyoto had of course been a popular tourist destination in the prewar; however, the fact that it was not greatly bombed imparted it with additional touristic value for Occupation personnel, and could symbolize the "benevolence" of the U.S. and Allies. As such, not only Hiroshima and Tokyo but even Kyoto was framed within and experienced through a militourist gaze in which war history was always, at least implicitly, present.

Sex, Leisure, and Occupation Privilege

Prostitution catering to Occupation soldiers increased rapidly throughout Japan due to the relative wealth of Occupation soldiers, bomb damage to established brothel districts, and widespread poverty.[57] During the early Occupation, the primary official venues for such prostitution were the RAA (Recreation and Amusement Association) centers set up by the Japanese government. These drew on wartime Japan's "comfort women" (*ianfu* 慰安婦) system in which many women—primarily Korean and Chinese—were coerced into organized prostitution in Japan's colonies and places of military occupation.[58] Many women working in RAA centers were financially desperate and had been deceived by state recruitment ads, which emphasized the perks of the job while only providing a vague description of the work involved.[59] The RAA centers were open from August 1945 until January 1946, when SCAP banned soldiers from visiting them due to fear of the spread of venereal diseases and of unfavorable media coverage at home.[60] This ban did not reduce the number of Occupation members seeking prostitution outside RAA centers, however, and resulted in street prostitution becoming more conspicuous. Occupation soldiers generally referred to prostitutes as "geisha girls," and the brothels they worked in as "geisha houses." As seen in these expressions, geisha—an iconic tourist symbol of Japan from before the war—became almost inseparably associated with prostitution during the Occupation.[61]

54 *Stars and Stripes* 8.10.1949.
55 Davidson 2000, p. 77.
56 Crocker 1997, p. 259.
57 Kovner 2012.
58 Kovner 2012; Soh 2008.
59 Dower 1999; Kovner 2012.
60 Koshiro 1999; Kovner 2012.
61 Kovner 2012; Lisle 2016. On the history of geisha in the Western imagination, see Okada 2010.

It is clear that military media and veterans viewed prostitution as a major source of recreation during the early stages of the Occupation. An edition of *Yank* from mid-September 1945 explains that, "Prostitution is well-organized, as Yanks who have occupied areas recently left by the Japanese Army know."[62] This comment recognizes the prevalence of prostitution within Japan and hints at the willingness of some in the U.S. military to inherit a system of prostitution from former enemies. An article in a later edition of *Yank* states that, "The American soldier has no other form of recreation other than what he finds in geisha houses," while another features an interview with a group of GIs who explain that for "recreation" they watch movies at their billet or "take a subway ride to geisha houses."[63] Likewise, one Occupation soldier talking about his R&R trip to Nagasaki in 1946 comments that, "It was quite a place because, pardon my French, they had all kinds of cathouses there."[64] Another recalls how during the Occupation spending time with "geisha girls" was "about all you can do."[65]

Prostitution often involved touristic travel. An article on Kyoto from the first months of the Occupation details the size and popularity of the city's brothel districts, reporting that, "Kyoto boasts nine separate red-light districts. Two of which are huge, the largest covering over one square mile," adding that, these "districts are the most crowded areas in Kyoto."[66] Clearly revealing its role as more travel guide than simple reportage, the article then goes on to explain that in "the heart of each district is a U.S. Army PRO [prophylactic] station." In case the reader still has some trepidations about safety or welcome, the article then describes how "employees and houses are strictly inspected every five days by Jap doctors, and licensed by the government," and that "one house greets GIs with a large white sign: "Welcome, American heroes—one touch 30 yen—no lower price for the second." The writer asserts that prostitutes are "the highest-paid workers in the city," and thereby helps allay the reader's moral qualms about prostitution being exploitative.

Military media also reveals the tensions within the military about openly discussing prostitution by Occupation soldiers. For example, in 1945—even before the ban on visiting RAA brothels—one article describes how a captain starts to "discuss in a loud voice the relative merits of the Japanese and Filipino women," before being quickly silenced by a senior officer.[67] "Geisha houses" were not always exclusively places of prostitution, but also provided opportunities for soldiers to interact with Japanese people. For example, in one article a GI earnestly explains that he can "learn a lot of Japanese" when he visits "geisha houses."[68]

Purchasing the services of "geisha girls" allowed Occupation soldiers to enjoy the privileges of military victory and power of the Occupation. This point is highlighted in the recollections of one veteran who recalls how he "hired a small Japanese band and with two Japanese girls […] rented a hotel room in a fashionable hotel and proceeded to party."[69] Ignoring the desk clerk's repeated requests to "get those girls out of my room and quiet

62 *Yank* 14.9.1945.
63 *Yank* 9.11.1945.
64 Nowadzky 2010.
65 Davidson 2000.
66 *Yank* 14.12.1945.
67 *Yank* 9.11.1945.
68 *Yank* 7.12.1945.
69 Bastian 2011.

down," he "partied all night," showing how he "played hard and also fought hard." This anecdote, and the centrality of "geisha girls" to the leisure of many soldiers during the Occupation as shown above, reveal how readily the privileged gazes and practices of tourism and military occupation can overlap through prostitution.

Photography and Distance

Urry and Larsen argue that the medium of photography is "the most important technology for developing and extending the tourist gaze."[70] As this section will show, photography provided a powerful way for soldiers and other Occupation personnel to reconfigure their militourist gaze of Japan as relations between the U.S.-led Allies and Japan warmed at the onset of the Cold War. Photography, especially the forms it took in the Occupation's camera clubs, helped restore touristic images of romantic Japan among soldiers only a few years after they were dismissed as dangerously misleading.

Soldiers were taking photos of Japan from the very beginning of the Occupation, and amateur photographers like Howard W. Whalen had even taken photos against orders while in combat.[71] Photography units were dispatched to document the Occupation and provide photographic images for media back home. The official photographers of the so-called "J Force," the New Zealand contingent of BCOF, provided a series of photos shown in figures 13 and 14 that document them scouting the remote island of Mishima 見島.[72] Both the caption—"New Zealand troops were the first Europeans to land on the island of Mishima"—and the photos themselves frame this event as an act of discovery rather than the practical scouting expedition that it was. Figure 13 shows a contingent of about nine soldiers marching through a small village of houses with traditional thatched and tiled roofing and stone walls. Captioned "Making friends with Japanese children is the [sic] one of the easiest things in the world to do. Pte H E Tolley (Wellington), and Pte R V Tiley (Invercargill) 'fraternize' in a small way," figure 14 shows two soldiers squatting at the level of a young girl who carries a baby on her back. The same girl stands on a small bridge in the previous photo. In contrast to the caption, the girl's smile seems forced and she does little to hide her fear, a fear that is perhaps shown on the crying face of the baby. The soldiers' interest in the children was surely genuine; indeed, many Occupation soldiers adopted homeless children or supported orphanages.[73] However, with all other villagers huddled in a separate group in the background and the girl's forced smile, the photo appears staged in an attempt to represent J Force as civilized, paternal, and benevolent.

These images demonstrate how contingents of the Occupying forces drew on tropes of masculine travel and adventure as a way to present armies and their role abroad in a positive light both to themselves and home audiences. For the U.S.A., questions of framing were vital, as they were for New Zealand too, a young country that had taken a big step towards independence just a few decades before in 1907 when it became a Dominion of the British Empire. For New Zealand, occupying a foreign country was a unique experience

70 Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 155.

71 Whalen 1945.

72 J Force was part of BCOF between 1946 and 1948 and was headquartered in Yamaguchi prefecture. Nish 2013. These and other J Force photos introduced here are without specific dates, but labeled as between 1946 and 1948.

73 For example, see *Stars and Stripes* 8.10.1949.

Figure 13. "New Zealand troops were the first Europeans to land on the island of Mi-shima." New Zealand National Library online (Ref: J-0261-F). Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library.

Figure 14: "Making friends with Japanese children is the [sic] one of the easiest things in the world to do." New Zealand National Library online (Ref: J-0267-F). Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library.

that, like the Gallipoli campaign of World War I, had the potential to greatly shape national identity.[74] These photos present J Force, both to themselves and home audiences, as a well-drilled, civilized, and civilizing military capable of occupation without cruelty or oppression. While photographers can stage and frame their photos to suit a particular narrative, however, their attempts are not always completely successful, so that images designed to reflect touristic harmony can be easily disrupted to reveal the reality of military force and fear of armed strangers.

After the initial year or two of the Occupation, soldiers and other personnel increasingly took up photography as a pastime. "Almost every serviceman in Japan is a strong addict of photography," states one *Stars and Stripes* article.[75] An American abroad would appear "out-of-uniform" without a camera, states another.[76] Articles introduced photography trips to destinations all over Japan, such as the Hamarikyu Onshi Teien 浜離宮恩賜庭園 gardens in Tokyo, Dazaifu Tenmangū 太宰府天満宮 shrine in Kyushu, and the ruins of Nakagusuku 中城 Castle in Okinawa.[77] In *Stars and Stripes*, a three-part series on photography ran throughout May 1948; along with cars, cameras were the most common items for sale in the "Bulletin Board" section.[78] An important impetus in both the growing prevalence of photography among Occupation personnel and the popularity of such tours was the rapid increase in the arrival of wives ("dependents"), many of whom had both the free time for pursuing hobbies and a more positive impression of Japanese than soldiers who had engaged with them in war.[79] Supported by the Eighth Army's Special Services—which was in charge of R&R and soldier leisure activities—a number of camera clubs had by this stage emerged in Occupation bases across Japan.[80]

The Tokyo camera club, which led weekly photographic tours to places of "scenic beauty" and regular photographer advice sessions, helped shape the gaze of Occupation soldiers through prewar imagery of Japan.[81] Actors from Madame Butterfly, an opera performed regularly for Allied soldiers with support from the U.S. Army's Information and Education Division, were employed to dress and pose in character for the photographs of club members (figure 15).[82] Madame Butterfly was a key pre-World War I theatrical work in the formation of orientalist ideas of Japan as exotic, picturesque, subservient, and feminine.[83] It tells the story of a Japanese woman who tragically kills herself after her lover—a *U.S. navy officer*—abandons her, taking their illegitimate son to return home with his American wife. The narrative of the opera may have been seen by the Occupation soldiers for whom

74 Gerster makes a similar argument regarding Australia's role in the Occupation. Gerster 2008. For more on the importance of Gallipoli for New Zealand national identity, see Slade 2003.

75 *Stars and Stripes* 9.5.1948.

76 *Stars and Stripes* 9.5.1948.

77 *Stars and Stripes* 9.5.1948; *Stars and Stripes* 30.5.1948; *Stars and Stripes* 7.11.1948.

78 *Stars and Stripes* 9.5.1948.

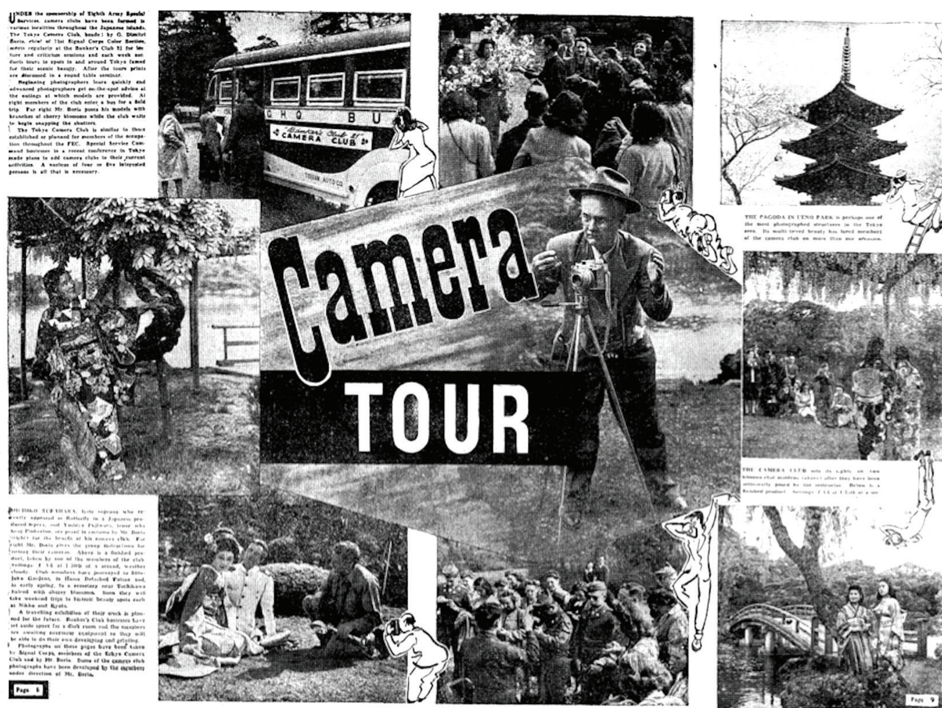
79 Alvah 2007.

80 *Stars and Stripes* 30.5.1948.

81 *Stars and Stripes* 30.5.1948.

82 *Stars and Stripes* 4.6.1949. This practice harks back to early Meiji photography for Western consumption that drew on imagery provided by photographs, novels, and plays to recreate an "old Japan" through the use of sets, costumes, and modeling of Japanese subjects. See Hight 2011, chapter 5.

83 This Giacomo Puccini opera premiered in 1904, and remains one of the most frequently performed operas of all time. Puccini drew on earlier written and theatrical works—mostly American—about Japan for the story. See Wisenthal et al. 2006.



Camera TOUR

UNDER the sponsorship of Eighth Army Special Services, camera clubs have been formed in various localities throughout the Japanese islands. The Tokyo Camera Club, headed by G. Dimitri Boria, chief of The Signal Corps Color Section, meets regularly at the Banker's Club II for lecture and criticism sessions and each week conducts tours to spots in and around Tokyo famed for their scenic beauty. After the tours prints are discussed in a round table seminar.

Beginning photographers learn quickly and advanced photographers get on-the-spot advice at the outings at which models are provided. At right members of the club enter a bus for a field trip. Far right Mr. Boria poses his models with branches of cherry blossoms while the club waits to begin snapping the shutters.

The Tokyo Camera Club is similar to those established or planned for members of the occupation throughout the FEC. Special Service Command hostesses in a recent conference in Tokyo made plans to add camera clubs to their current activities. A nucleus of four or five interested persons is all that is necessary.

A travelling exhibition of their work is planned for the future. Banker's Club hostesses have set aside space for a dark room and the members are awaiting necessary equipment so they will be able to do their own developing and printing.

Photographs on these pages have been taken by Signal Corps, members of the Tokyo Camera Club and by Mr. Boria. Some of the camera club photographs have been developed by the members under direction of Mr. Boria.

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Figure 15. "Camera Tour." *Stars and Stripes* 30.5.1948.

it was performed as justifying the power of the Occupation over Japan, and legitimizing the sexual exploitation of Japanese women. The club encouraged and guided soldiers to actively employ this militouristic gaze of Japan through photography, reinforcing the idea of themselves as privileged members of a white, male, U.S.-led military force occupying a "feminized" Japan.[84] The example of the Tokyo camera club demonstrates that, through touristic activities, Occupation soldiers helped justify their presence by dealing with Japan in ways that returned to earlier orientalist discourses.[85]

While the camera club and other Occupation photographers engaged in a prewar romantic tourist gaze of Japan, both the cameras and use of models served to create a permissible distance between members of the Occupation and touristic ideas of Japan. Using models from the theater and guided by professional photographers, the camera club members were under no illusion that their photographs reflected an objective reality. They enjoyed the touristic fantasies of an exotic Japan while never being fully immersed in them.

Figures 16 and 17, which like those of Mishima Island were taken by official J Force photographers between 1946 and 1948, similarly allow the soldier—as well as the home audience they were primarily produced for—to enjoy the tourist gaze of Japan from a distance. A souvenir photo taken at a studio provided for the Occupation enables the soldier in figure 16 to adopt a tourist's identity. However, via the use of a fake Mt. Fuji backdrop,

84 For more on the feminization of Japan, see Shibusawa 2010.

85 On the role of orientalism and racism during the Occupation, see Dower 1999; Koshiro 1999.

Figure 16. "Japanese photographer takes special care photographing a New Zealand soldier at the studio in the YMCA provided for New Zealanders of J Force at Yamaguchi (Japan)." New Zealand National Library online (Ref: J-0385-F). Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library.

Figure 17: "Gunner E Wilkinson [...] at a Yamaguchi department store, tries on a beautiful and expensive 1500-yen kimono." New Zealand National Library online (Ref: J-0311-F). Courtesy of Alexander Turnbull Library.

and framing that includes the photographer and his equipment, both the soldier and viewer are reminded that the scene is fabricated.

Figure 17 is of a soldier being dressed in a Yamaguchi department store in kimono. However, the soldier's knowing wink, his army beret, protruding army shirt, and the smiles of himself and the women dressing him make it clear that the scene is not supposed to be taken seriously. This photo is strikingly similar to many nineteenth-century portraits of non-Japanese taken in Japan, including—in its employment of humor and costume—a 1872 photograph of Charles Longfellow in which he jokingly dresses as a samurai.[86] Unlike Longfellow's portrait however, which assumes a masculine identity, the soldier's costume—a vibrant *furisode* 振袖 kimono typically worn on special occasions by young women—indicates the adoption of a Madame Butterfly-like feminine identity that is heightened through the images of geisha, flowers, and birds in the background. These symbols of Japanese femininity, however, contrast conspicuously with the soldier's beret and uniform—symbols of masculine militarism—and his wink. The soldier is not embracing the archetype of the exotic and tragic Madame Butterfly but parodying it and the touristic symbols of Japan it represents. As Christine Guth explains, however, mimicry and irony are powerful tools of colonial power.[87] The photo in figure 17, therefore, can be further read as an assertion via touristic imagery and objects of the masculine military power of the Occupation over Japan, and more specifically, over Japanese women.

Tourist photos are caught up in the power inequalities between "host" and "guest" that are common to tourism and radically amplified under military occupation.[88] Within this political context, these photographs—especially of Mishima Island and Madame Butterfly actor/models—can be understood as an assertion of power and a feminization of Japan that justifies masculine domination by the military Occupation.[89] They also present Japan as a vulnerable female ally in need of male military protection from the new evil of communism. Through *Stars and Stripes* and camera clubs, Occupation soldiers and family members not only viewed these images but were also encouraged to capture and embody them. Tourism was therefore doubly used as a way to confirm the superiority of Occupation forces while helping to soften soldiers' perspectives of Japan—which nonetheless remained distanced—in line with U.S. Cold War goals.

180 Degree Turn of the Militourist Gaze

Denounced during the war as dangerously naive, the romantic tourist gaze of Japan was by around 1948 being enjoyed by soldiers and promoted in military media, though typically through using the distancing effects of photography and humor. From 1949, this distance rapidly diminished, so that soldier indoctrination completed a 180-degree pivot from denouncing this gaze to encouraging it. This shift in ways of representing Japan can be seen as an effort by the U.S. military to shape Japan into an important ally in the Cold War, which after the successes of the Communist Party in China had become a primary concern for the U.S. and its Western bloc allies. This is a good example of the complex relationship

86 Guth 2004, pp. 125–26. For more on nineteenth-century photography and Japan, see Hight 2011.
87 Guth 2004, p. 126. Original from Bhabha 1994.
88 Lisle 2016; O'Dwyer 2004; Urry and Larsen 2011.
89 For more on representations of gender during the Occupation, see Shibusawa 2010.

between tourism and war/peace, for while the U.S. aimed to use militoursm to encourage peaceful relations with Japan, their larger goal was the fulfilment of Cold War strategy.

An article titled "GI Yabusame" (figure 18) describes how First Lieutenant George R. Clark, the manager of a hotel for Occupation personnel situated between Kamakura and the naval city of Yokosuka in a small resort town called Zushi 逗子, started practicing and organizing displays of *yabusame* 鏑流馬, a traditional horseback archery contest.[90] Clark was inspired to try *yabusame* after watching a performance at the popular shrine of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū 鶴岡八幡宮 in nearby Kamakura, a center of heritage and temple tourism in the region. This Shinto shrine, which was built in the twelfth century by the founder of the Kamakura shogunate, Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 to protect his new military and political capital, was dedicated to Hachiman 八幡, who from this time became the kami most closely associated with war, the samurai class, and archery.[91] Clark recruited others from the hotel, and together they started learning *yabusame* from local riders, performing in traditional samurai costume on the beach in front of the hotel. This was the beginning of Zushi's *yabusame* festival, which continues today.[92] The publication of this article in *Stars and Stripes* indicates that the military was willing to promote the event and, more importantly, to encourage soldiers and other Occupation personnel to embrace a militourist viewpoint amicable towards Japan and Japanese military culture, and further, to embody this culture themselves. Significantly, this militourist gaze focused on ancient history, providing a way for Occupation soldiers to enjoy and partake in Japanese martial culture and bypass the horrors of World War II.

As another *Stars and Stripes* article from later in 1949 indicates (see figure 19), this reclaimed tourist gaze of Japan was even encouraged in soldier training.[93] It reports that, "A new note in troop education was sounded recently at Camp Younghans, Jimmachi, Japan when class-room style orientation periods for men newly assigned to the 7th Infantry Division's artillery unit were replaced by real-life scenes introducing the customs of the Japanese."[94] It then describes how as many as sixty local residents, a few local businesses, and the city government assisted in troop orientation through performances of traditional Japanese culture, including dance, tea ceremony, sumo, judo, wearing of "samurai" armor and sword, and a "geisha party." This show was apparently performed at least four times to over five hundred new arrivals, regular troops, and resident families, and had become part of the orientation program. For locals it was an opportunity to display "part of our daily lives" in a way that overcame language barriers. This article indicates that the tourist gaze of Japan, and through samurai and military arts a militourist gaze, was being taught to Occupation soldiers and family members. Training in this way of understanding Japan provided soldiers with an insight into the everyday life of their hosts, no doubt partly in the name of intercultural understanding. This representation was not simply a reflection of the everyday lives of locals, however, but corresponded with a romantic tourist discourse of "old Japan."

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90 *Stars and Stripes* 12.2.1949.

91 See Bender 1979; Scheid 2014.

92 Zushi Hayama web 2018.

93 *Stars and Stripes* 27.8.1949.

94 The Seventh Infantry Division occupied much of northern Honshu and Hokkaido from 1948. Camp Younghans is in Yamagata prefecture. Gardner and Stahura 1997.

Figure 18. Photo and title from "GI *Yabusame*." *Stars and Stripes* 12.2.1949.

FLOWER ARRANGEMENTS are displayed below by six pupils of the local master. Called "ikebana" in Japanese, the arrangements always represent the triad of heaven, earth and water.

A FAVORITE Japanese dance is performed below for the newly arrived soldiers by three girls from a nearby secondary school. Not as "[illegible]" as they were accustomed to, the dance was still enjoyed by the men.

THE MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT is the first portion of the tea ceremony is provided by: left to right; the koto, or Japanese harp; the samisen; and the flute (below). The tea ceremony was conducted by the local art teacher and his pupils.

A NEW note in troop education was sounded recently at Camp Younghans, Jimmachi, Japan when classroom style orientation periods for men newly assigned to the 7th Infantry Division's artillery unit were replaced by real-life scenes introducing the customs of the Japanese.

Consequently, what had been merely one of many orientation periods that covered sanitation rules from the Surgeon's office, entertainment facilities from the Special Services office, regulations from the Provost Marshal and an opportunity for forty winks, was almost overnight transformed into one of the most interesting educational spectacles ever offered a soldier of the Far East Command.

ONE OF THE FOURTEEN THROWS practiced in the art of Judo. Matsumoto, on the right, a second class Judo wrestler, demonstrated hand throwing, leg throwing, and somersault throwing with an unidentified opponent.

Lt. John V. McNally, aide-de-camp to Brig. Gen. William N. Gillmore, 7th Division commander, instigated the program by requesting the assistance of Japanese civilians employed at the camp and of residents of nearby Tendo.

The Japanese proved just as eager to demonstrate their living habits and customs as the Americans were to learn of them. The presentations, scheduled for only three or four scenes with a handful of troupers, rapidly grew to fourteen scenes with sixty Japanese participating. Cast members included boilermen, watchmen, charwomen, waitresses and some of the more talented residents of Tendo. Everyone wanted to get into the act.

Typical of the enthusiasm of the Japanese was that of the son of a Zen Buddhist priest. Beautiful purple and gold vestments were borrowed from his father's temple for the Buddhist temple scene. With a little more promoting, he obtained the flowers and incense that made the stage setting strikingly realistic.

No picture of Japan would be complete without mention of the historic samurai. From the city officials at Tendo a complete suit of armor was procured, minus the traditional samurai sword. A thorough search of the area was conducted, and several swords were brought out. To the surprise and dismay of the lieutenant, the Japanese refused to consider any of them being used with the samurai suit of armor. With dogged determination they insisted that only one type of sword was made at the time of the samurai, and that an authentic model must be obtained. Otherwise the exhibition must be omitted from the show.

THIS SCENE PROVED to be the most popular of all. The local electrician and the local boilerman stage a sumo demonstration. The referee, also a villager, acts as referee for all the local bouts.

Roadshow of Culture

THE ROLES IN THE GEISHA party scene were the most sought after, and they were played, by some coincidence, by the three managers of the hotel! Below the men represent three Japanese gentlemen being entertained by four Geisha girls in a tea room. The girls were accurately gorgeous, as none of the local girls felt qualified to act the parts. They needed no rehearsals to get into the spirit of the thing. Their only complaint—the sake wasn't the real thing.

Fortunately, someone remembered that General Gillmore had just the sword that was needed. The lieutenant obtained the sword from the general and the exhibition was saved.

A Yamagata tea house offered the services of four of its most beautiful Geisha girls for a tea house scene on the condition that they be provided a private sedan. All the other participants could ride in trucks, but the girls must have special transportation. This request was granted and the girls arrived with instructions that they were to serve nothing but sake. This was too much. The lieutenant hit the ceiling and the sake was out.

The sporting crowd presented a sumo wrestling match complete with ring and referee. The two contestants, a boilerman and an electrician, provided thrilling entertainment with realistic growls and shrieks of simulated torturous pain.

An exhibition of judo produced a near riot in the audience. The contestants, a "No. 1" wrestler, and the other, a "No. 2," were demonstrating waist throws, leg throws and somersault throwing quite enthusiastically until the soldiers noticed that one man was consistently acting as the "fall guy." Their indignation aroused at such violation of the principles of fair play, the crowd prepared to clear the stage. The match was stopped and the situation explained. It seems that Japanese custom prohibits a "No. 1" warrior from "throwing" his superior "No. 2" opponent in a public demonstration. After explaining to the Americans that everything was above-board and according to custom, the lieutenant was compelled to explain to the Japanese that the actions of the audience were according to American custom, and that the boisterous response to the demonstration was not a sign of disapproval or disgust.

The success of this first program was so complete that it became necessary to present the entire performance in the post theater. With stage lighting, comfortable seating, and an informational running narrative by Lieutenant McNally, the show provided first hand information and education, as well as entertainment for over two hours to 500 new arrivals at the post.

The good word soon spread to other units and the resulting interest aroused required that the demonstration be presented twice during the following week, once for the other two battalions of the camp, and again for the resident dependent families.

Since that first show, Lieutenant McNally's original orientation program has become part of the life of every group of newly arrived artillerymen at Camp Younghans.

The spokesman for the people of Tendo summed up the attitude responsible for the enthusiastic cooperation of the Japanese when he said, "We people of Tendo appreciate very much an opportunity to show the Armed Forces how we live. As we cannot speak your language, perhaps we can convey a little of what our country means to us by simply putting part of our daily lives on the stage for you to see."

CALLIGRAPHY, the delicate art of scroll painting, is illustrated by two villagers. Behind them hangs a "kakemono" decorated with a Chinese poem in classical Chinese characters.

THE SON of the local Buddhist priest reads a sutra before a replica of the altar in the Tendo shrine.

A JAPANESE CLERK in the Tendo Hotel, dressed in a suit of armor borrowed from the town hall, portrays a Daimyo of the Kamakura period.

Figure 19. "Roadshow of Culture." *Stars and Stripes* 27.8.1949.

The focus on tradition, including martial arts, helped both members of the Occupation and locals bypass the divisive issue of World War II and instead share in an idea of Japanese tradition that was attractive to the touristic sentiments of the soldiers and a source of pride for locals. Gonzalez and Lipman point out that after the war the U.S. military refashioned its various occupations in terms of "welcome, consent and leisure."[95] Integration of these cultural "road shows" into troop training had similar goals: making new troops feel welcome in Japan and improving the local reputation of the military Occupation; encouraging a belief among soldiers and locals that, as a tradition-based society, Japan consented to the military Occupation and its guidance of Japan towards modern, capitalistic democracy; and presenting Japanese culture to soldiers as something to be enjoyed.

Conclusion

This paper has explored how U.S. and other Allied militaries attempted to manipulate the tourist and militourist gazes of soldiers in order to engender enmity, sympathy, and friendship towards Japan. These ways of affective engagement were central to how soldiers encountered Japan during the last stages of World War II and the Occupation.

During the war, the U.S. Army Information Branch produced the *Pocket Guide* as a tool of soldier indoctrination. This guide represented Japan as treacherous by fusing militaristic and touristic imagery, and condemned the tourist gaze for occluding Japanese plans for war. Before the Pacific War started, Japan's official tourist agencies had attempted to sway foreign attitudes to the war with China although, as Andrew Elliott's study in this special explores, this had mixed results. Authors of the *Pocket Guide* did not explicitly blame Japanese institutions for intentionally misleading the U.S. through tourism; they pointed instead to the naivety of prewar American tourists. It is, however, clear that the U.S. Army Information Branch—like the Board of Tourist Industry and similar agencies in Japan—was well aware of the propagandistic possibilities of tourism.[96] Further research is needed to ascertain whether the Allies were conscious of and attempted to counter Japanese efforts to utilize tourism for propaganda. Further, while this paper attempts to understand soldiers' embodiment of the tourist gaze through memoirs and photographs, it is not clear what soldiers thought of the *Pocket Guide* and related materials. It is possible that efforts at indoctrination had no effect on the soldiers' thinking in regard to Japan. If this were so, it would help explain the early reemergence of prewar touristic ideas of Japan and touristic activities among Occupation soldiers.

Soon after the war, another hybrid militourist gaze developed that combined the power relations of military Occupation with touristic interest in the spectacular and exotic. This focused on wartime destruction and "geisha girl" prostitution, and helped justify to soldiers the privileges and superiority of the Occupation army. However, memoirs and military newspapers show that not all soldiers were interested in visiting sites conveying U.S. destruction of Japan. Still, destruction and war helped define the increasingly heterogeneous militourist gazes of soldiers and postwar tourist development of many cities, including

95 Gonzalez and Lipman 2016, p. 510.

96 Holguin asserts that the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), which slightly predates the beginning of the second Sino-Japanese War (1937), is the earliest example of tourism being consciously utilized to alter foreign perceptions of a war in progress. Holguin 2005.

lightly-damaged Kyoto. Japanese people assisted in this urban touristification through their efforts to profit from and accommodate, or indeed resist, the militourism of Occupation soldiers.

As the Cold War developed, Allied militaries again attempted to shape Occupation soldiers' tourist and militourist gazes. Initially, soldiers took up touristic ideas of Japan tentatively or ironically, and these functioned to vindicate the Occupation through returning to earlier nineteenth-century tropes of white masculine dominance over a feminized Japan. Soon after, however, the Occupation army began encouraging soldiers to embody militourism as "GI yabusame" tourists, and learn about traditional Japanese culture—including military culture—through touristic shows in troop training. While such soldier instruction aimed to strengthen relations with Japan, their focus on premodern traditions elided World War II and the ongoing Occupation, a point Tze Loo's paper in this special also explores in relation to the Occupation of Okinawa.[97]

The militourist gaze is central to instances of modern war and occupation through "productions of difference."[98] Generally speaking, both tourist and militarist gazes strictly divide "self" and "other," especially along lines of national difference: the former focus on national symbols and stereotypes such as views of Mt. Fuji or quintessentially Japanese shrines; the latter on countries and national militaries as allies or enemies.[99] Tourism was developing into a mass practice, and—partly due to the mobilization of many hundreds of thousands of young soldiers—touristic ways of understanding the world spread rapidly among all classes of society in the developed world. By World War II, the militourist gaze had become both a pervasive way for soldiers to see and interact with the world, and important new tool in soldier indoctrination.

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97 The point that touristification leads to the transformation, and often erasure, of war memories is central to other articles in this special, including De Antoni, Fukuma, Seaton, Uesugi, and Zwigenberg.

98 This is a term Debbie Lisle has applied in similar contexts. Lisle 2016, p. 4.

99 See Culler 1981; MacCannell 1999.

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"Paradise in a war zone": The U.S. Military and Tourism in Okinawa, 1945–1972

Tze M. LOO

War and tourism exist in a complicated relationship in Okinawa. One manifestation of this is the fact that, despite their heavy presence on Okinawa's main island, U.S. military bases and their personnel are often excluded from discussions about Okinawa's tourism, which the prefecture has targeted as an area of major economic investment and expected growth. Yet American military personnel were some of the earliest tourists in Okinawa in the immediate postwar, consumers of a tourist landscape that the U.S. military was instrumental in producing for its personnel. In addition, tourism offers a rich window into some of the workings of the twenty-seven-year U.S. Occupation of Okinawa. This paper explores how tourism as a mode of engagement figured in both the imagining and operating of Occupation authorities' rule of the islands, and how military personnel on the ground negotiated and understood their time there.

Keywords: Okinawa, American Occupation, military bases, military personnel and dependents, tourists, beach resort, People-to-People program

Introduction: Okinawa's Tourism Industry and the Military Presence

It is clear that war and tourism share the same space in Okinawa when one considers the dominant images associated with the region in the Japanese imagination. On the one hand, Okinawa is regarded as "Japan's Hawai'i" in the popular media, and is a popular tourist destination for domestic tourists, famous for its beaches, tropical climate, and natural environment.[1] For many Japanese tourists—who make up the majority of tourists to the prefecture—vacationing in Okinawa offers a brief but tantalizing slice of a tropical paradise. On the other hand, Okinawa frequently appears in the mainland news media in relation to the presence of U.S. bases there, the direct result of America's twenty-seven-year military Occupation of Okinawa (1945–1972) following the end of World War II.[2]

1 Tada 2015.

2 Okinawa prefecture has long protested the heavy burden of U.S. military bases that it bears. Though comprising only 0.6 percent of Japan's total land area, Okinawa hosts 70.6 percent of U.S. military installations by land area. For concise and useful statistics, see "Base-related Data" on the website of the Okinawa Prefectural Government's Washington D.C. office (Okinawa Prefectural Government Washington D.C. Office).

Many Okinawans oppose the presence of bases. They are angered by crimes committed by military personnel and their dependents, and lament that the protections afforded by the current Status of Forces Agreement make it difficult for Japanese authorities to prosecute perpetrators of those crimes. Okinawans are also troubled by the threat that the bases pose in terms of safety and noise because facilities like Kadena 嘉手納 and Futenma 普天間 are in densely populated areas; they are also more generally concerned that Okinawa remains a military target for attack by other powers because of the bases.

Alongside the political opposition to their presence, American military bases are, with increasing frequency in some discussions, explicitly identified as obstacles to the prefecture's economic development because they occupy prime pieces of real estate that could be repurposed for the tourist and other nonmilitary industries.[3] In contrast, tourism is identified as a leading economic industry which is becoming increasingly prominent in the prefecture's economic vision for its future.[4] The fact that income from tourism now constitutes more than twice the income from bases, or that the potential for economic reform of base lands is calculated to far exceed economic potential prior to their return, features often in these discussions, and adds to popular antagonism towards the bases.[5]

The antagonism towards the bases takes the shape of a resolute silence regarding their presence in the prefecture's tourism policy. The prefecture's current 10-year Basic Plan for Tourism Promotion (Okinawa-ken Kankō Shinkō Kihon Keikaku 沖縄県観光振興基本計画) aims to transform Okinawa into a "world-class tourist and resort destination" (defined as "Okinawa being equipped with basic qualities as a sophisticated tourist destination"), promoting its natural and cultural resources to create a "diverse" tourism, and increasing the number of visitors to Okinawa to 10 million by 2021.[6] Reflecting this, the prefecture's current "Be. Okinawa" tourism campaign's promotional literature highlights Okinawa's beaches, nature, cultural sites, karate, and food, but makes no reference to the presence of U.S. military installations, which occupy 18 percent of the land on Okinawa's main island.[7]

U.S. military bases have not always been excluded from the prefecture's vision for its tourism industry. A 1962 report by the Okinawa Tourist Association (Okinawa Kankō Kyōkai 沖縄観光協会) noted:

> Frankly speaking, the most obvious and most unexpectedly felt thing about Okinawa is the military facilities and the landscape of the bases. The mainland also had its

3 Okinawa's Washington D.C. office is unequivocal about this: "On the economic front, the existence of U.S. bases is now the biggest obstacle to the economic development of Okinawa." See Okinawa Prefectural Government Washington D.C. Office.

4 Okinawa-ken 2017

5 See Tomikawa 2009. In 1972, the proportion of the prefecture's income that came from base-related income and tourism income was 15.5% and 6.5% respectively; in 2012, the proportions were 5.4% and 10%. See Okinawa-ken Keikakubu Tōkeika 2016.

6 This comprises the twin goals of countering the decline of domestic tourists, who constitute 90% of visitors to Okinawa, by attracting both first-time visitors and repeat visitors, and increasing the number of foreign tourists. Okinawa-ken 2012, pp. 25–30.

7 The campaign makes no mention of the presence of bases in its various paraphernalia, even when its various suggested itinerary brings tourists into areas where it is highly likely they would encounter them. For example, Araha beach in Central Okinawa is in a straight line less than 500 meters from the outer fence of MCAS Futenma. (Okinawa Prefectural Government. "Be. Okinawa." Available at http://beokinawa.jp/ (Accessed 6 August 2018); Okinawa Prefectural Government. "Live Nuchigusui." Available at http://beokinawa.jp/nuchigusui/ (Accessed 6 August 2018)).

> period of occupation by American forces and there are still many military facilities today, but [when visitors] come to Okinawa, they learn for the first time about the bases' strategic role, how large in scale they are and how far they spread. Regardless of whether one likes it or not, "Okinawa tourism" is also base tourism. Rather than not referencing [the bases] and leaving them alone as is done now, it would be more natural for Okinawa if visits to the bases are included as part of tourism, if even for the purposes of deepening mutual understanding.[8]

As this passage shows, bases were held up as an integral part of the Okinawan landscape at the time, and something that was difficult, if not impossible, to ignore. The report proposes that including American bases in the tourist circuit could serve the pedagogical purpose of teaching mainland Japanese tourists about the expansive nature of the American Occupation in Okinawa. A 1961 Japanese-language guidebook for Japanese tourists took a different tack. It suggested that base housing reflects "authentic America," and that the facilities at Futenma, Rycom ライカム, and Zukeran 瑞慶覧 bases were examples of "housing areas just as [one would find] in Hawai'i and America. Seeing these is the same as going overseas."[9] For the authors of this guidebook, bases were fragments of "America" transplanted onto Okinawan soil, and they were legitimate slices of the American life that Japanese visitors to Okinawa could also enjoy as part of their time there.

The silence about U.S. military bases in the prefecture's official tourist campaigns also does not fit with the reality of how tourism plays out on the ground in Okinawa. Gerald Figal has shown that there is a robust unofficial tourist circuit around American military sites and military paraphernalia patronized by both domestic and international tourists to the prefecture.[10] The *Okinawa Times* recently reported on how mainland Chinese tourists are turning the "Michi no eki Kadena" 道の駅かでな rest area in Yara 屋良 into a major tourist attraction, reportedly exceeding the popularity of Ao no dōkutsu 青の洞窟 ("Blue Cave," a famous dive spot) in Onna 恩納. The rest area's popularity stems from the vantage point it offers of the entirety of Kadena air base, and Chinese tourists relish the opportunity to observe American military prowess first hand.[11]

There are good reasons for the prefecture to leave bases out of its official tourist literature. As physical embodiments of a continuing regime of neocolonial domination by American military power which the Japanese government is complicit in supporting, the bases are politically difficult to deploy. Acknowledging them in Okinawa's tourism plans would accord the bases a role to play in Okinawa's economy, which would undermine the principles of an economic vision that imagines, and is predicated on, a decreasing place for the bases in the life of the islands.

Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul, in their edited book on war and tourism, challenge the notion that war and tourism are antithetical, and argue that tourism can not only persist in times of war, it may even benefit from conflict in some instances.[12] Indeed, Okinawa's silence about the bases in its tourism policy is only one aspect of a larger and

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8 Senge 1962, p. 25
9 Okinawa Kōshinjo 1961, p. 9.
10 Figal 2012, pp. 175–202.
11 *Okinawa Times* 2018.
12 Butler and Suntikul 2013, pp. 1–11.

more complicated relationship that a study of the prefecture reveals about the history of war and its uses in the present.[13] Teresia Teaiwa's much-deployed concept of militourism—which identifies the collusion of the tourist industry and the military to support and develop tourism while obfuscating the reality of the military's presence and role in the process—is a provocative lens through which to view Okinawa as well.[14] Her point that the tourist industry "capitalizes on the military histories of the islands" is an apt description, for example, of the "peace tours" that are a staple of the Japanese school excursion circuit.[15]

At the same time however, the peace tours and other war-related sites that enjoy official endorsement (such as the bunker headquarters of the 32nd Imperial Army which were tunneled under Shuri 首里 Castle) also suggest that there is a particular kind of narrative about the war that Okinawa's official tourism circuit employs and by which it is disciplined: one that emphasizes the brutal cost of the war for Okinawans and calls for peace. This narrative has little use for U.S. military bases, since—as some fear—they are the very installations that could cause the islands and its inhabitants to be victimized by war again. And while it is conceivable for the bases to be deployed as "negative attractions"—that is, as reminders and remainders of one of the parties who inflicted war on Okinawans, and as objects that pose an ongoing threat to peace in the islands—this negativity would interfere with the positive, healthy, life-affirming image of Okinawa that the prefecture's official tourism campaigns are investing considerable resources to promote.

The academic study of tourism in Okinawa mirrors the silence about U.S. bases in official tourism policy. It pays relatively little attention to the relationship between the U.S. military occupation of Okinawa and tourism, despite the work by Gerald Figal and others who point to the significance of this issue in Okinawa, and the robust body of literature on the relationship between the tourism and the military, especially the U.S. military, in enabling, legitimizing, and consolidating military occupation of foreign lands.[16] Taking a hint from this literature, as well as from the editors of a recent special issue on tourism who point to "a radical approach to unpacking tourism" that "highlights how tourism, as a form of paradigmatic modern encounter, bleeds into diplomacy, militarism, and empire building," this essay explores some of the ways that tourism was implicated and imbricated in the twenty-seven years of U.S. Occupation of the islands.[17] American military personnel and their dependents were some of the prefecture's first postwar tourists as they sought out, and as military authorities provided, opportunities for rest and recreation, pleasure, and enjoyment during their tours of duty. But tourism also offers a rich window into the U.S. Occupation of Okinawa that illustrates how Occupation authorities imagined

13 Gerald Figal's comprehensive analysis of Okinawa's postwar tourism emphasizes its inseparability from the island's history of war. Figal 2012.

14 Teaiwa 1999.

15 For the peace tours, see Figal 2001. There may also be productive comparisons to be made with the tours at the "World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument" at Pearl Harbor. A provocative analysis is found in Gonzalez 2017.

16 Scholars have examined this relationship from a variety of angles, producing seminal texts (for example, Enloe 2014), provocative concepts (for example, Teresia Teaiwa's "militourism" mentioned earlier in Teaiwa 1999), and sustained interrogation (for example, Gonzalez 2013; Gonzalez and Lipman 2016; Buchanan 2016).

17 Figal 2012; Alvah 2007; Bender, Fabian, Ruiz, and Walkowitz 2017, p. 2.

and operationalized their rule of the islands, and how military personnel on the ground negotiated and understood their time there.

Before War's End: Imaginations of Paradise

The tourist mode of the U.S. military's engagement with Okinawa began even before the conclusion of the Battle of Okinawa at the end of June 1945. The May 1945 issue of the *National Geographic* magazine featured an article titled "Peacetime Rambles in the Ryukyus" that contrasts strongly with the reports of the increasingly ferocious battle on Okinawa that was unfolding in the pages of major American newspapers at the time.[18] True to its title, the article is a long reminiscence by William Leonard Schwartz, a professor of romance languages at Stanford University, of his prewar visit to Okinawa and the exotic and unusual sights and sounds he encountered there.[19] The article would have been a typical record of a touristic encounter with a foreign place were it not for the fact that it was framed through the American invasion of the Ryukyu islands that was happening at the very moment that the article was published. The article opened by noting that "American landing forces, closing in on the Ryukyu Archipelago, which stretches in an arc for 700 miles between Japan and Formosa, have invaded an island group few foreigners have ever visited."[20] The article's narrative focus on prewar travel not only reinforced this combination of "invasion" and "visit," which linked the ongoing and intensifying American assault of Okinawa to a sense of travel to an unknown land, but the motif of travel also served, in turn, to reframe the ongoing invasion.

By sharing his own experiences of visiting the islands, Schwartz—whether intentionally or not—became himself one of those "few foreigners" to have visited Okinawa, and took on the guise of a reliable guide. Into this small group of travelers to the islands, Schwartz introduces Commodore Matthew Perry who stopped in the Ryukyu islands on his way to Edo Bay to demand that the Tokugawa shogun open Japanese ports in 1853. Schwartz notes that Perry's expedition was intertwined with American strategic and military agendas, given Perry's desire for the U.S. "to occupy the chief ports of the Ryukyus" and the expedition's surveying work of the seas and land, opening a way for a parallel to be drawn between Perry's expedition and the U.S. military invasion at that time. However, by associating Perry with missionaries, naturalists, or explorers who visited the kingdom for a variety of outwardly nonmilitary purposes, the text paradoxically dilutes the military dimension of Perry's actions, something that could be extrapolated to the then-current U.S. invasion of the islands, mitigating ideas about its violent nature.[21]

This connection between "tourism" and "militarism" that informs the beginning of the essay resurfaces in other ways in the text as well. Schwartz's essay includes several photographs of Okinawa's prewar environment to give a visual sense of a place that seemed

18 Schwartz 1945. Schwartz's father had been a Methodist missionary in Okinawa from 1907–1955. *New York Times* 1945a; *New York Times* 1945b; Rae 1945; *Washington Post* 1945.

19 While specializing in romance languages, Schwartz maintained a scholarly interest in Okinawa and Japan. In 1919, he lectured on the 1914 eruption of Sakurajima in Kyushu, and edited for publication in 1946 parts of Bettelheim's dairy entries about Commodore Perry's visit to the Ryukyu Kingdom.

20 Schwartz 1945, p. 543.

21 This echoes with George H. Kerr's 1945 essay, "Sovereignty of the Liu Chiu Islands." For a discussion of this essay, see Loo 2014, pp. 150–51.

to be "not Japanese [but] almost Hawaiian."[22] The photos provide visual details of an exotic place with exotic things—large tombs, an awamori liquor distillery, scenes of unmechanized agricultural life, Naha's narrow streets—but they are prefaced by three aerial photographs of the islands' landscape taken by American military reconnaissance aircraft. These photographs are arresting visual texts that capture and showcase the intricate geometry of the island's physical terrain; there is little to hint at military invasion within the frame of these images, but their captions betray the ominous presence of war. Further, while these captions make explicit the violence that was either about to occur or that had occurred already, and in which the photos are implicated, they also include descriptions that turn away from war. In the first photo, the text explains that the area in the frame is a "Target for American bombs," before returning to a non-war related description of Okinawa's geography, noting that "virtually the entire island has similar terrain—mountainous and rocky, except for a narrow fringe of lowland and the coastal plain on which Naha, the capital, stands."[23] Similarly, the photo titled "Winging over Okinawa, an Army 'Recon' made this revealing picture" comments that the "checkboard patterns [in the image] are villages with walled houses," but then immediately informs the reader that "carrier-based planes from the U.S. Third Fleet […] bombed Okinawa in January, February, and March."

The text thus creates two spaces within itself: a space of exotic travel in a past time, and a space of U.S. military invasion in the present. This simultaneity of two realities and two temporal frames spills over into the essay, again in its description of Naha and Okinawan architecture:

> Red-tiled Naha city has—*or had*—a fair proportion of two-storied Japanese dwellings with open store fronts […]. Okinawan town houses—*or those that remain*—are one-storied and secluded behind walls of coral as high as the eves, to shelter them from gales.[24]

With the simple insertion of past tense ("had") and speculation ("or those that remain"), Schwartz introduced the time of his present—that is, a time of war—into his account of travels in an Okinawa of the past. What would otherwise have been simple descriptions of particular features of Okinawan architecture become suggestions and reminders of the destruction that Okinawa was at the very moment experiencing without directly referencing the war.

Two months after Japan's surrender, *National Geographic* again featured Okinawa in a short essay by the well-known war photographer, David Duncan.[25] This article was a variation on the rhetorical strategy found in Schwartz's piece. In this case, Duncan highlighted Okinawa's high military wartime value—"a base for the knockout of Japan"—as a preamble to a discussion of postwar, peacetime Okinawa. The essay was also a kind of travelogue, one which attempted to provide a sense of the radical changes that Okinawa was undergoing after the war, with Duncan observing how, for example,

22 Schwartz, p. 549.
23 Schwartz 1945, p. 546.
24 Schwartz 1945, p. 552. Emphasis mine.
25 Duncan 1945.

> Bulldozers, steam shovels, scrapers, and other equipment were lifting the face of Okinawa, scratching airfields across its surface. Seabees and Army engineers were blasting and bulldozing four-lane highways the length and breadth of the island. Not a day went by but there was some drastic alteration in the countryside. Frequently Marines returning from the front lines got lost in places where they had known every hut, lane, and tree.[26]

The sense of thorough and dramatic transformation to the land is unmistakable. The language of construction casts these changes as necessary progress, their rapidity captured in the predicament faced by battle-hardened soldiers temporarily disoriented in once-familiar surroundings. But told from the perspective of the American military, the text gives little sense of what these changes—ones that were turning Okinawa into what Yamanouchi Baku called an “unsinkable aircraft carrier”—would have meant to Okinawan people. There is no sense of how this process of “lifting the face of Okinawa” may have looked to Okinawa people, many of whom lost their lands in the forced requisitions carried out for the construction of those airfields being “scratched” into Okinawa’s surface.

Duncan’s text is accompanied by sixteen pages of attractive full-color photographs that gave it the feeling of tourist paraphernalia, but their effect is not dissimilar from the photographs in Schwartz’s essay. On the surface, the photos appear to be snapshots of a charming landscape and smiling, friendly Okinawans, images of the exotic captured by a visitor to the islands. On closer inspection, however, the images are a photographic record of the effects and consequences of the U.S. invasion on Okinawa and its inhabitants. American armored vehicles “wiping out Japs [sic],” marines scavenging at the wreck of a Japanese aircraft for trophies (“Marines seek Jap [sic] name plates and scrap for bracelets”), and Okinawans walking towards camps to house those who had lost or fled their homes. Yet the actual violence of the acts captured in the photographs is placed at arm’s length through the images’ glossy composition. American military vehicles move through a landscape that is still verdant and lush *despite* the reports of destruction; soldiers are shown at rest with the air of a group of campers; and Okinawans who are walking to refugee camps are carrying their belongings and moving in a seemingly unhurried manner, some with smiles on their faces and without suggestion of the crises and emotional toll of wartime and its aftermath.[27]

Tourism has an explicit presence in the essay. Praising the island’s beauty, Duncan felt certain that “Okinawa is the most scenic island with the finest climate of any the United States has taken in the Pacific war,” and he was confident that “eventually, my bet is that Okinawa will remain one of our mightiest Far East bases and become a vacationland” comparable to the resorts of Palm Beach and Miami. Furthermore, Okinawa’s tourist potential had a personal dimension for Duncan too. Into his description of “freshly raked and immaculate” farms and friendly Okinawans, Duncan added:

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26 Duncan 1945, p. 411.

27 David Spurr argues that *National Geographic* and its photographs are examples of the rhetorical trope of aestheticization, one of several that is deployed in Western colonial writing about non-Western people and places. It is a trope that “neutralizes the disturbing aspects” of power relations in the encounter between the colonizer and colonized by skillfully making the objects of the essays or the photos beautiful, and minimizing the importance of power relations in creating the conditions under which colonized people live. Spurr 1993, pp. 50–52.

> My favorite spot on Okinawa is Hedo Zaki [*Hedo Misaki* 辺戸岬 or Cape Hedo], the northern tip of the island. Penny-sized fields of wheat creep right out onto the cliffs that knife up from the sea. Scrub palms border each garden. The heart of Hedo Zaki is a jagged, heavily timbered, cloud-capped pinnacle—formidable but beautiful as a lonely pagan land. Here is where I'd like to build a home after the war. Perched on the crest, its windows would open over the Pacific on one side and face the evening sun sinking into the East China Sea on the other. Of all the places I have seen, Hedo Zaki is the most romantic.[28]

This appreciation of Okinawa's beauty calls to mind the desire that visitors to a place, enchanted by their surroundings into imagining an extended stay, sometimes express. But this articulation is worth noting for how Okinawa shifts from being a battlefield to a kind of paradise.[29] It is a particular kind of paradise, too. The landscape is void of human beings without being devoid of the human labor that made the land habitable and productive, thus suggesting a variation on the fantasy of *terra nullius* that writes out the existence of the people who live there, but not the products of their labor. And in its description of the land's "paganism," there is a suggestion of undeveloped nature, justifying the intervention of civilizing and modernizing forces.[30] Importantly, this description of Okinawa as paradise gives no inkling of the terrible brutality of the conflict that had just ended, or the reality of American military colonial rule that had just been inaugurated. Okinawa's transformation into tourist paradise did not entail an overcoming of the recent history of fighting, nor a disavowal of the islands' current and ongoing militarization. At work was an imagination that saw little contradiction between Okinawa as "vacationland" and as "one of our mightiest Far East bases."

During the Occupation: Creating Paradise

The U.S. military's interactions with Okinawa in the tourist mode continued after hostilities ended and the American Occupation of the islands began. Scholars have shown how the U.S. military cast overseas tours of duty as an opportunity to "see the world" and to experience new cultures that would ordinarily be financially out of reach, and the American

28 Duncan 1945, p. 411.

29 "Our Marines, battling on the edges of Naha, have nothing but a ruined city to take when they take it." *New York Times* 1945b. "The terrain on which we fight on Okinawa may not be naturally so difficult as warfare in a thick jungle, but the use the Jap [sic] has made of these high ridges to place his artillery so that he is constantly 'looking down the throats' of the Tenth Army and the Marines has made the southern part of this island more difficult to conquer than any other Pacific territory." *New York Times* 1945c.

30 Many scholars note the central role that the concept of paradise plays in Euro-American colonial imagination and its role in both enabling and legitimizing the military domination of these areas. Vernadette Vicuña Gonzales's study notes the relationship between militarism and tourism in Hawai'i and the Philippines which are sites of "fantastical imaginings and military occupations" by the U.S. (Gonzalez 2013, p. 9). Gonzales offers a powerful reminder that images of tropical paradise used to attract U.S. soldiers to tours of duty in these far-flung colonial possessions also informed their expectations of eroticized interactions with local populations who had been feminized within the framework of "rest and recreation," and in turn returned their "particularly sexualized vision of the tropics-as-paradise into the American national consciousness" (p. 13).

Occupation of Okinawa, like its Occupation of Japan, was no exception.[31] The Department of Defense’s 1954 *Pocket Guide to Japan* pitched a similar idea of overseas duty as tourism overseas at the government’s expense:

> To travel as a tourist to the Far East is expensive, but those who have made the trip say it is well worth the cost. As a member of the United States Armed Forces you become a world traveler at no cost to yourself, not only seeing but also working with the people and institutions of foreign lands.[32]

Overseas military service in Japan was expressed as a valuable opportunity to become a “world traveler,” and the rewards were further amplified by how soldierly duties were cast in the manner of a “working holiday.” The pleasures of overseas travel were given additional significance for participants who were offered the experience of cultural interaction and exchange by working with people from other countries.

This message that overseas assignment involved, at least in part, opportunities for tourism and enrichment was similarly present in the Department of Defense *Pocket Guide to Okinawa* (1961). However, the *Pocket Guide to Okinawa* was careful to calibrate soldiers’ expectations, cautioning that, “It would be a mistake, in an essentially rural and village country such as the Ryukyus, to expect dazzling attractions found in Tokyo, London, or Paris.”[33] Indeed, the guidebooks provided by the Department of Defense or by Ryukyu Command early in the Occupation painted a rather bleak picture of tourist-related and leisure activities in Okinawa at the time. For example, a 1951 guidebook by Ryukyu Command for new personnel to the islands contained a brief section on “entertainment facilities” that was little more than a list of on-base libraries, clubs, movie theaters, and sports, with few options off base.[34] The shortage of opportunities for sightseeing and leisure on Okinawa appeared to be a sentiment widely shared by personnel on the ground at the beginning of the Occupation. In a 1947 article in the newspaper *Stars and Stripes* about Okinawa’s prospects for tourism, the author noted wryly that “we now pause—sympathetically—to allow readers stationed on the “Rock” time to turn to the comics,” in a knowing nod to the service people on Okinawa who considered this an outlandish suggestion given the conditions at the time.[35]

The lack of tourist sites/sights or other diversions for American service personnel in postwar Okinawa was in part the result of the destruction that the islands suffered in the Battle of Okinawa. Photographs of the Naha and Shuri areas from immediately after the

31 Lisle refers to an example of a recruitment poster from 1919 that targeted “soldier sightseers,” and Buchanan shows how guidebooks to Italy promised “soldier tourists” the “great chance to do now, major expenses paid, what would cost you a lot of your own money after the war.” Lisle 2000, p. 111; Buchanan 2016, p. 596.

32 United States Department of the Air Force 1954, p. 6. Pocket guides were distributed to individuals serving overseas as part of their preparation. See, for example, “Preparing individual replacements for overseas movement (POR) and U.S. Army overseas replacement station processing procedure” (AR612-2, August 1969).

33 United States Office of Armed Forces Information and Education 1961, p. 1.

34 Headquarters Ryukyu Command 1951.

35 *Stars and Stripes* 8.4.1947. A letter to the editor from a soldier suggests that he would have agreed with this assessment: “I’m wondering if this is the relaxation, recreation, and education program we were promised as soon as the war was over” (*Stars and Stripes* 11.10.1945).

war are pictures of utter devastation. Okinawa's famous Shuri Castle—designated a national treasure in 1924 and a staple of the prewar Okinawan tourist circuit—was completely razed to the ground. Okinawans who had fled their homes to caves and mountains to escape the fighting were put into refugee camps after the cessation of hostilities. After release, many Okinawans returned home to find that their lands had been requisitioned for the construction of U.S. military bases. The Okinawan economy was also in shambles. Conditions for both Okinawan civilians and U.S. Occupation forces remained poor even four years later due in large part to the U.S. military's neglect of the islands. Okinawans lived in "hapless poverty" with few prospects, and one observer noted that the U.S. treated them with "less generosity in occupation than the Japanese did." American military personnel, who were in terms of morale and discipline "probably worse than that of any U.S. forces in the world," also lived in poor conditions in "Quonset communities that look like hobo camps" or "hovels."[36] Okinawa—the land, its people, and its occupiers—was simply in no condition to develop tourist sites in the years immediately after the war.

However, conditions started to change slowly in late 1949 when Major General Josef R. Sheetz was appointed military governor, and given a broad mandate to improve conditions in Okinawa economically and politically.[37] The development of tourist sites counted among those improvements when, for example, the "commanding general" made known that he was "desirous of having the Nakagusuku Castle 中城城 area maintained for sightseers, recreational activities, etc."[38] Nakagusuku Castle is a site of great significance in Okinawan history associated with Gosamaru 護佐丸, a fifteenth-century lord popularly regarded as a paragon of loyalty. The military government found that "the subject site is desirable as a point of vantage to view many of the historical and picturesque places on Okinawa and that the ruins themselves are photogenic," and thus had selected it as a "principal stop on Special Service sightseeing tours for transient ship's passengers."[39] The military government saw much potential for the site to develop lucrative sightseeing and souvenir businesses that would be operated by "industrious and imaginative Okinawans," therefore also promoting economic development in the local community. These businesses could be guaranteed a steady flow of customers by ensuring regular tour services to transport military personnel to the park at least every weekend. On 6 December 1949, the military government told the Okinawa Civilian Administration of its intention to turn the castle park into a "national park," and directed the local government to "study this matter" and furnish a budget for the project. By 28 December, the mayor was preparing to present his plan for the castle park's development, and construction was underway by February the following year.

The Nakagusuku project was to serve the twin purposes of creating a tourist attraction and providing an economic opportunity for the local community, but the military

36 Gibney 1949.

37 Sheetz served as Military Governor from October 1949 to July 1950. The *Chicago Tribune* called this the end to "do nothing days." *Chicago Tribune* 1950. See also Eldridge 2013, pp. 231–33; Fisch 1988, pp. 121–52.

38 "Nakagusuku Castle Project and Historical Point of Interest" 1949.

39 "Nakagusuku Castle Project and Historical Point of Interest" 1949. In the fifteenth century, Gosamaru moved from his base at Zakimijō 座喜味城 castle to Nakagusuku under royal orders to keep watch over Amawari 阿摩和利, a lord who commanded the well-placed Katsuren Castle 勝連城 on the peninsula northwest of Nakagusuku. A common rendition of the history tells of Amawari's ability to convince the Ryukyuan king with false stories of Gosamaru's treachery and his attack on Nakagusuku under royal orders. In an act of loyalty to the king at Shuri, Gosamaru took his own life rather than fight the forces of his king.

government also had other intentions. Authorities wanted to build a park that would "have all facilities," including the sale of Coca-Cola, that "is primarily for the convenience of Occupation personnel." Two hundred Okinawan laborers worked on the project and even local schoolchildren were mobilized to turn this historically significant Okinawan site into a place of recreation for U.S. military personnel. But the attempt to appropriate Nakagusuku was not entirely without pushback. A military government official felt the need to comment, midway through construction, that while the park "is designed primarily to give additional recreational facilities to Occupation personnel, it is not restricted to any group." It is unclear what motivated the official to make this clarification, but it is not hard to imagine it as a response to a query about why a place of significance to Okinawan history, which was being prepared by Okinawan labor and with local Okinawan planning, had the appearance of a site off-limits to them. [40]

Despite moments like this to cushion the Occupation's use of Okinawan land, the reconfiguration of the main island's landscape to serve its needs extended to other locales as well. The transformation of central Okinawa was significant enough that a guidebook suggested that the porch of the Fort Bruckner Officer's Club offered an aerial view of the "American scene on Okinawa" that included shopping areas, theaters, U.S. army facilities, radio towers—the trappings of an American town engulfing spaces of local Okinawan life.[41] If the Nakagusuku park project was an instance in which Occupation authorities were unable to monopolize the site, the beach resorts at Yaka 屋嘉 and Okuma 奥間 were examples of the opposite. Touted as "a chance to 'get away from it all' on the island," these beach resorts were "some of the most beautiful in the Far East" and gave military personnel and dependents access to Edenic "stretches of sandy beaches fading into the crystal blue-green waters of either the Pacific Ocean or the East China Sea."[42] In an article about the Women's Army Corp (WAC) which arrived in Okinawa in May 1951, service members were shown in bathing suits relaxing near coral reefs or in beach chairs at Yaka. There, they enjoyed swimming, tennis, and miniature golf while staying in cabanas with spacious double rooms that were "comfortably and attractively decorated."[43] The Okuma Rest Center in the northern part of Okinawa island catered to officers and their families; it offered a restaurant ("where you can order anything from a hamburger to a New York steak, or if you prefer, pizza to sukiyaki") and a double horseshoe-shaped bar, miniature golf and other activities that transported guests away from their everyday life in Okinawa as members of an Occupation force.[44]

In addition to monopolizing space for Occupation personnel to spend their leisure time, the creation of the Yaka and Okuma Rest Centers was symptomatic of how Okinawa was becoming—as Duncan had foreseen earlier—associated with beach resorts within military circles. When "R&R" programs were opened in Okinawa in April 1955 for military personnel stationed in Korea, lodging at the Yaka Rest Area where they could enjoy swimming, sun-bathing, and fishing was touted as the program's attraction.[45] By 1964, *Stars*

40 "Nakagusuku Castle Project and Historical Point of Interest" 1949.
41 Fuchaku, Higa, and Toyama 1969, p. 87.
42 Headquarters Ryukyu Command 1951; United States Army Ryukyu Islands (USARYIS) b, p. 21.
43 *Stars and Stripes* 1.5.1952.
44 United States Army Ryukyu Islands (USARYIS). "Okuma Rest Center" (n.d.). Okinawa Prefectural Archive.
45 *Stars and Stripes* 6.4.1955.

and Stripes called Okinawa "the Bermuda of the Pacific," and extolled its attractiveness as an all-year beach resort.[46] The association of Okinawa with the motif of a paradisaical "beach resort" was not limited to temporary diversions available to military personnel. It became a more generalized motif through which Occupation personnel and their dependents represented their everyday life in the islands. In remembering her move to new base housing, one individual noted that she was loath to leave her family's home on Awashi Hill because it "seemed like a perpetual summer resort. The wind murmured through the pines by night, and Bruckner Bay was always at the foot of the hill for a swim by day."[47]

During the Occupation: Engaging with Paradise

Local Okinawan efforts in the early postwar to develop the tourism industry as a way to rebuild the island's economy identified American war veterans as a potential market. As early as 1947, calls were made for Okinawa to be developed into a tourist destination for American "veterans of the Battle of Okinawa and their families on their trips to the Orient […] to stop over [in Okinawa] to visit the graves of their buddies or to revisit battlefields."[48] The article's author wrote approvingly of this because, as he noted, the Ryukyu Islands and sites like "Suicide Cliff" had become "part of our American heritage as Bunker Hill, the Alamo, Bull Run and Gettysburg" for those veterans.

Efforts to deploy tourism to revitalize Okinawa's economy continued after the establishment in 1952 of the Government of the Ryukyus (GRI), which gave Okinawans a higher degree of self-government. The GRI opted to develop more than just battle sites to attract other kinds of tourists. In 1963, the GRI reported expecting 46,000 visitors by the end of the year, which represented a 25 percent increase from the previous year. Seventy percent of these visitors were expected to be from Japan, and the rest from the U.S., Taiwan, the Philippines, and other Asian countries, and this new group of tourists-consumers raised the need to diversify Okinawa's tourist attractions.[49] A 1962 study of Okinawa's tourist industry identified not only Okinawa's battlefields, but also its cultural heritage sites, natural environment, "tourist cities" (referring to Naha, Koza コザ, and Nago 名護), and different customs and culture as "resources" (*shigen* 資源) that could be used to develop Okinawa's tourism industry.[50] A year after the report, Nago opened Nago Castle (*Nan'gusuku* 名護城) as a tourist attraction, its inaugural festivities coinciding with a three-day cherry blossom festival at which the 3rd Marine Division Band played.[51] The Nago Castle Park was part of the ten-year plan to develop the town into a "modern city" with modern infrastructure, seaside resorts, and amusement facilities that aimed "to give a maximum [sic] service to all residents of the town and also to make it a clear attractive tourist center."[52] The increasing availability of tourist sites like Nago Castle was reflected in Occupation tourist guidebooks too. Compared to early guidebooks that could offer mostly on-base entertainments, later

46 *Stars and Stripes* 6.12.1957.
47 Diffenderfer 1955, p. 284.
48 *Stars and Stripes* 8.4.1947.
49 *Stars and Stripes* 19.11.1963.
50 Senge 1962, pp. 16–21.
51 *Stars and Stripes* 5.2.1963.
52 *Stars and Stripes* 12.12.1963.

publications introduced radically expanded options and itineraries for touring in Okinawa, resulting in an expansion in the touristic gaze of Occupation personnel.[53]

The increasing availability of more parts of Okinawa for tourist consumption coincided with the emergence of the U.S. military’s “People-to-People” program in which the military began to regard its personnel serving overseas as “unofficial ambassadors,” who played key roles in how local communities formed opinions of the U.S. military and the U.S. government and its policies. The “People to People” program began in 1956, and it aimed to give “the people of other countries a better understanding of the American way of life, our customs and traditions, our peaceful aspirations, and our devotion to freedom,” and to “generate among our own people a broader understanding of the people of other lands.”[54] The program applied to both military personnel and their dependents, with the hope that “our peaceful objectives and principles will be better understood throughout the world.” In a bid to make these interactions seem natural, the program was cast as “nothing more than the overseas version of the old American idea of being a good neighbor,” and comprised several straightforward and commonsensical components that centered around engaging with local people.

In calling on service people and their dependents to undertake these efforts, the military seemed concerned with persuading them to go beyond mere tourism. For instance, it was suggested that:

> Sightseeing is fine, museums, castles and cathedrals all have their fascinations for what they tell us about the past […] wherever the serviceman goes abroad he can enter a wonderland of new sights and sounds that will stay with him for years after he returns home. [But] Spain for him can be more than Segovia’s magnificently forbidding Alcazar; it can be the hospitable Spaniards who took him to his first bullfight and invited him home to sample *cocido* or *paella* washed down with delicious *manzanilla*.[55]

The argument seemed to be that while sightseeing was an enriching activity, there was a different kind of experience to be had from more personal and sustained engagement with host cultures and communities, if one “gets out into the country and mingles” with local people. This was, in a sense, a recalibration of how the U.S. military used tourism. While tourism had been used to attract individuals to join the military and participate in tours of duty overseas, conventional tourism was no longer sufficient:

> Although a holiday in Paris is a “must” for every serviceman in Europe, there is so much to France and the French beyond the City of Light. He’ll better understand and appreciate their sturdy individualism when he gets out into the country and mingles with Normans, Bretons, Alsatians, and Provencals, all imbued with *joi de vivre*.[56]

53 For example, see United States Office of Armed Forces Information and Education 1961. The guidebook’s introduction to Okinawa’s capital city Naha included mention of Naminoue Shrine 波上宮 and the old capital at Shuri as well as to places further afield: from Itoman 糸満 and Kudaka Island 久高島 in the south, to Futenma, Koza (present-day Okinawa city), Kin 金武 in central Okinawa, and Nago in the north.

54 *Yank* 1960.

55 *Yank* 1960, p. 4.

56 *Yank* 1960, p. 4.

For the People-to-People program to work, the military needed to persuade its soldiers to be less like tourists, and to go beyond merely visiting and consuming local sights to engage and learn from local communities.

However, even though a recalibration of soldiers as tourists was being demanded, tourism could contribute to this endeavor. Beginning in 1960, for example, Occupation authorities in Okinawa organized "orientation tours" that targeted dependents of U.S. military personnel and members of women's clubs to provide "knowledge of the Ryukyu islands and the culture of the Ryukyu people," and as a way for members of women's organizations to "acquaint themselves with the interesting area in which they will spend a few years of their lives."[57] There were soon eight themed tours—culture, social welfare agencies, industrial, educational, governmental, arts and handicrafts, newspapers, radio and television facilities, and religion—with plans for more. The "Cultural Tour" offered "a glimpse of the traditions and cultural development of the Ryukyu people," and included stops at the Shuri Museum, the "grounds of the former Shuri temple" (which likely referred to the Enkakuji temple 円覚寺), a bingata (traditional resist dye) fabric factory, and a potter's factory in Tsuboya, while the "Religion Tour" took participants to Buddhist temples, Shinto shrines, and Christian churches on the island. Tourism was no longer only for entertainment and leisure, but now had a strong pedagogical component in which service people and their dependents would learn about Okinawa's history and culture and show themselves to be respectful, informed visitors, and so encourage Okinawans to form positive opinions about the U.S. military presence. At the same time, these tours—especially tours of industrial installations—also functioned to showcase the benefits that the U.S. Occupation brought to the material and economic life of the islands, serving to legitimize the American presence on Okinawa to these newly arrived personnel and their dependents.[58]

Official guidebooks also shared in this pedagogical function. As they became more comprehensive and offered a larger itinerary for travel, they also provided more detailed information about each place that would give readers the kind of background information to Okinawan's history and culture intended by the People-to-People program. For example, the Army Service Club's guidebook *Tours of Okinawa* provided an extensive list of tourist sites that began in the south of the island. Moving north, the guidebook introduced a startling variety of historical sites, religious sites, scenic overlooks, beaches, tunnels, and villages along with substantial information about them.[59] At the same time, texts like these were nodes of production of particular kinds of knowledge about Okinawa that, in this case, normalized the U.S. military presence by extolling the benefits of U.S. rule.

For example, in the section on Koza in central Okinawa, the text proclaims that Koza is the island's second largest and newest city, a "postwar boom town which is growing

57 Office of Public Affairs, HICOM 1963. About the "social welfare agencies tour," organizers noted that women's club members "will have a particular interest in the welfare institutions of the Ryukyu Islands because they help support many of them. This tour will provide a view of a representative cross section of different kinds of welfare problems and the institutions that try to provide solutions" (p. 4). For women's involvement in the People-to-People program, see Koikari 2017, pp. 22–64; Alvah 2007.

58 The "Industrial Tour" took participants to see "the new industrial enterprises which are changing the face of Okinawa," and underscored that "much of this development has been due to United States economic assistance and spending by United States military organizations, military personnel, and their dependents." Office of Public Affairs, HICOM 1963, p. 5.

59 Fuchaku, Higa, and Toyama 1969.

rapidly" thanks to the "American military bases nearby and the resultant spending of U.S. servicemen."[60] The town, the text asserts, is well aware that it owes its prosperity to the American military presence: "No one knows better the benefits of the American servicemen's business than do the individual citizens of Koza whose daily bread they supply." Koza's prosperity—"most of the citizens of Koza are making money, real money"—and the prevalence of well-painted houses with tiled roofs (instead of thatch) is offered as proof of this. Furthermore, the text also painted Koza as a gateway to a wider, American, cultural and economic sphere. Not only do people from "all over the world" come to Koza for work, "some of Koza's leading businessmen returned to Okinawa after living and working in the United States for many years." The implication is that Koza's connection with the U.S. via the bases made it a place of possible connection to an outside (American) world and the favorable outcomes that those kinds of connections would bring. The message here is a clear one about the benefits of the American military presence, whose removal would doom the city to "crumble into dust in the classical American frontier manner."

Individual Experiences: Living in Paradise

If tourism offers a window into some aspects of how the American Occupation of Okinawa was operationalized and normalized, tourism is also a window into how American military personnel understood their time there. They too engaged with Okinawa in the "tourist mode," producing guidebooks and souvenir books as records of their time.

To commemorate their tour of duty in Okinawa, the personnel of the Naval Supply Depot at Tengan 天願 in central Okinawa compiled a souvenir book which was titled *Okinawa Memories*, and comprised mainly photographs of sites of interest and natural scenery.[61] Some of these photographs echo those taken by soldiers in Italy that Buchanan analyzed, in that the reality of the war is excluded from the frame even as the images capture the destruction wrought by the war.[62] They also mirror the photos in *National Geographic* articles, in that Okinawan people are absent from some of the landscapes that are captured in the photographs; where they appear, they too show few signs of the recent war or ongoing Occupation. The volume includes a section titled "The Girls" which was made up of images of young girls and women, the products of a male gaze that does not hesitate to appropriate and objectify female bodies.[63] Here, "Okinawan women," like tourist sites, were exposed to touristic consumption as souvenirs to "refresh your Okinawan memories, good and bad, when we have all returned to our normal manner for living—the American way."[64]

The souvenir book opens with a survey of Okinawan history that suggests that the narrative of Okinawa's history in guidebooks and official publications—for example, the *Civil Affairs Handbook*, *The Okinawans of the Loo Choo Islands*, and *Ryukyu: Kingdom and Province before 1945*, which underscore the strength and persistence of Okinawan identity—was absorbed by personnel on the ground, constituting a lens through which

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60 Fuchaku, Higa, and Toyama 1969, pp. 99–102.

61 Naval Supply Depot, n.d.

62 Buchanan 2016, p. 608.

63 On the important issue of the gendered power relations that infuse the militarization of Okinawa in particular, see Ginoza 2016. The artist Yamashiro Chikako's work is especially provocative. See Takemoto 2016 for an introduction to Yamashiro's "I like Okinawa Sweet."

64 See Naval Supply Depot.

they perceived their environment. The souvenir book demonstrates a degree of nuance in its treatment of the Ryukyu Kingdom's position as a small polity caught between two larger powers who sought to impose their will on the kingdom from time to time, but which nevertheless experienced "independent Okinawan development." In stressing the persistence of Okinawan identity, the narrative is part of a larger Occupational strategy which hoped that a celebration of Okinawan difference would temper local calls for reversion to Japanese control.[65]

But the souvenir book also revealed unexpected moments of ambivalence. As a representation of their authors' experience in Okinawa, the volume demonstrates how even though they understood themselves as "tourists," they did not only peddle the motif of paradise or represent their memories as time spent in an unspoiled Eden. War was not entirely absent from the pages of their souvenir book, as some of the photographs captured a devastated landscape. The back cover of the volume features a hand-drawn map of Okinawa that has labels of important locations on the island like Naha, Shuri, and Futenma. Buried among these labels, however, are traces of the U.S. military's control of Okinawa's space: the bay of Nakagusuku-wan 中城湾 is also marked with its "American" name, Buckner Bay, as is Sugar Loaf Hill, the hill south of Shuri which saw fierce fighting in the Battle of Okinawa. Its strongest connection to the war is gestured at by the map's subtitle, "Showing the trip of the Japanese Peace Mission From Tokyo to Ie Shima to Manila," referring to the journey that the Japanese delegation made to Manila to discuss the details of Japan's surrender which stopped at the island of Ie Shima 伊江島. Indeed, the top left of the map features an arc that enters the frame from the horizon and ends in Ie Shima that marks the flight path of the aircraft carrying the delegation from Tokyo. In a sense then, this volume containing the memories of military personnel of their time in Okinawa was, at least for them, irrevocably tied to the war and the moment of American victory.

Another self-produced "souvenir tourist hint" guidebook, *The Ryukyuan Way*, also provides a window into how military personnel engaged with Okinawa and the kinds of negotiations that entailed.[66] The guidebook takes the form of an introduction to the different holidays that were celebrated in Okinawa. The holidays are arranged by months—which, like the names of the holidays, are given in both English and their Japanese or Okinawan pronunciation—and include the islands' legal holidays, customary or community celebrations, as well as American holidays (Mother's Day). The treatment of Okinawa's holidays here appears respectful of difference, and takes care to introduce their significance to the communities that celebrate them.

Interspersed within the text are sections about tourist sites around the island and musings about life in Okinawa. Importantly, Okinawan people are not absent from this text. The guide is not immune to the racist tropes which characterized American propaganda representations of Japanese people during the war, as can be seen in its caricature of

65 See Kano 1987, pp. 3–112.

66 *The Ryukyuan Way: Things to Do! Places to Go! Why Not? Did You Ever? A Souvenir Tourist Hint*. The authorship of the pamphlet is unclear; there is only an illegible signature on the first page but several things in the pamphlet point to an individual who is at least associated with the U.S. military. These include what is intended to be a tongue-in-cheek chart explaining local family structure using the language and hierarchy of military government as well as a limerick/poem titled "G.I. Blues" about being stationed at Futenma (see *The Ryukyuan Way*).

professional thieves in Okinawa as “stealie boy,” replete with buck teeth, round spectacles, “small shifty eyes,” and large ears.[67] But by and large, the guidebook portrays Okinawan people as generous, mild, warmly tolerant of and willing to “break the language barrier with the giant Americans.” They are hard-working people (“everyone works”) who labor in a myriad of ways to support their families; the Okinawan people who are employed by the military are “conscientious and competent workers” who perform a range of duties from the complicated to the quotidian. The author is highly complementary and appreciative of his family’s domestic helper’s invitation to her home for a meal, and talks of the adventure of taking the local bus up to Nago as he mingles with local people.

The text also demonstrates a degree of awareness of and reflexivity about the asymmetrical relations—limited though they may be—and American privilege upon which the U.S. military Occupation in Okinawa rested, and which enveloped all relations between military personnel in Okinawa and local communities. His references to the many women who work in the sex industry catering to U.S. military personnel, his account of an Okinawan woman and her daughter being badly injured by an American on a motorcycle, as well as his comment that Okinawans’ average wage is “below yours,” are all examples of the “dark side of life” in Okinawa related to the U.S. military presence.[68] The text also does not shy away from mentioning World War II and the heavy cost that *both* sides bore in the conflict; and its recognition that the changes Okinawa experienced since the end of the war are not neutral transformations but rather “Americanization not known a few years before” suggests a certain ambivalence about the American military presence in Okinawa.[69] The awareness also extends to reflections about the author’s place in Okinawa. A section titled “Things ARE different” offers a list of things about everyday life in Okinawa that acknowledges examples of American privilege and power (“having a maid,” “having a seamstress,” “the Oriental wife”), but uses that to highlight the dissonance and disjuncture that infused daily life for Occupation forces in Okinawa.[70] The author ends his list with the sardonic query, “Sounds like paradise in the war zone, doesn’t it?,” a gesture at the kinds of negotiations that individual military personnel undertook as they navigated life in Okinawa.

Conclusion

Butler and Suntikul are right when they argue that casting war and tourism as antithetical is an oversimplification of a complex relationship between two kinds of human activity. For American service personnel stationed in Okinawa in the immediate postwar period, the islands were simultaneously a space of war and of tourism; the former stemming from the American invasion during the Battle of Okinawa and its Occupation of the islands in the context of the Cold War, and the latter deriving from the quotidian desire for leisure. However, the relationship between the U.S. military and tourism in Okinawa was not limited to military personnel’s consumption of Okinawa’s tourist sites. Instead, this essay has explored how “tourism” also provides a useful means of examining the mechanics of the U.S. Occupation of the islands. Not only did tourist tropes inflect imaginations of Okinawa

67 *The Ryukyuan Way*, p. 7.
68 *The Ryukyuan Way*, pp. 15, 20.
69 *The Ryukyuan Way*, p. 19.
70 *The Ryukyuan Way*, p. 20.

before the end of hostilities, the image of Okinawa as a beach paradise in American military circles was strengthened further during the Occupation. Through tourism, Occupation authorities encouraged military personnel and their dependents to learn about Okinawa and demonstrate the benefits that American rule brought to the islands; and the language of tourism was used by American military personnel to represent their experiences in Okinawa. But tourism was not only a way in which Occupation authorities and personnel made Okinawa legible to themselves. Rather, the coexistence of the trope of "touristic paradise" and its nuances of pleasure with the realities of war was another example of the contradictions that inhered in everyday life in occupied Okinawa.

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Hiroshima Castle and the Long Shadow of Militarism in Postwar Japan

Ran ZWIGENBERG

In 1945 Hiroshima Castle, together with most of central Hiroshima, was incinerated and turned into a graveyard. Tens of thousands of Japanese Imperial Army soldiers perished in the castle, which served as the headquarters for Japan's Western Army. The bomb destroyed not just the physical space of the castle but also the symbolism associated with the site. The castle was long used to promote Hiroshima's identity as a military city. Promotion of tourism played an important role in cementing this identity. After the war, the castle's and Hiroshima's long engagement with the imperial military was forgotten as Hiroshima rebuilt itself as a "city of peace." Significantly, it was now the Atomic Bomb Dome, rather than the castle which served as the city's symbol. Yet, the castle continued to serve as a reminder of Hiroshima's past. I argue that the reconstruction of Hiroshima Castle in 1958, as with other castles throughout Japan, was carried out as a way to demilitarize and disassociate the castle from a modern military role. This move by conservative groups to rehabilitate the castle initiated much debate. Using the castle and the tourism trade around it as a lens, this paper will examine the way local identity transformed as Japan mobilized for empire before the war and tried to exorcise the ghosts of Hiroshima's past after the defeat.

Keywords: Hiroshima, castle, tourism, A-bomb, reconstruction, war memory, local identity, militarization, demilitarization, Hiroshima Recovery Exposition

Introduction

Students of Hiroshima's history seldom examine the city before 1945. Whether in popular memory or in academic studies, the city's history usually starts on the morning of 6 August and is mostly framed in relation to the city's tragic encounter with the nuclear age. Studies of tourism in Hiroshima are no exception. The few studies done on the topic, this author's work included, have examined Hiroshima through the lens of dark tourism and in relation

to the A-bomb.[1] But Hiroshima is much more than nuclear *lieu de mémoire*. The American destruction of Hiroshima erased not just the physical city but also its past. The A-bomb eclipsed Hiroshima's former identity, and particularly its long association with the Imperial Japanese Army and the imperial house. Hiroshima had a complex relationship with war and national mobilization. To talk about the city only in terms of the city's victimization by the American use of the atomic bomb runs the risk of ignoring its complex past, where victimization and complicity in Japan's aggression were closely intertwined.

Hiroshima's conversion to peace was carried out in the context of imperial transition. Hiroshima was the site where one empire was symbolically and physically destroyed while another rose to superpower status. From the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), when Hiroshima served as the official headquarters and wartime capital of the Meiji emperor, through the end of World War II, Hiroshima's identity was closely associated with Japan's imperial ambitions. The bomb destroyed these ambitions in a display of scientific and military power that became the symbolic foundation of America's new imperial power.[2] In what Lisa Yoneyama has aptly termed a "Heideggerian irony," the Atomic Bomb Dome symbolizes this shift in its historical role as a central edifice of both post- and prewar Hiroshima, albeit in very different forms.[3] The dome replaced Hiroshima Castle as the central symbol of the city. But the castle still occupies a major place on the city's tourist circuits, and is the only symbol of the city (and the only tourist site) that transcended the war.

The destruction of the castle and its rebuilding were symbolically charged acts. As Nunokawa Hiroshi 布川弘 argues, "From the early-modern period onward, the *tenshu* 天守 (keep) of the castle was continuously used as a symbol of the power of soldiers and samurai who occupied the castle [… and] the rebuilding of the keep symbolized the true beginning of the postwar [era]."[4] Tourism was central to the symbolic construction of the castle, and to the larger effort of promoting and solidifying Hiroshima's identity both before and after the war. This identity underwent much change in the mid-twentieth century. In tourist brochures and exhibition guides, the castle and associated sites were depicted, before the war, as a site of military glory, connecting Japan's martial past with its current exploits on the continent. After defeat, the castle was portrayed as a ruin, symbolizing the destruction of militarism; and finally, after it was reconstructed, it was presented as a site of culture and peace, a symbol of Hiroshima's tradition and identity which transcended the bomb. The reconstruction of the castle, this paper argues, was part of a larger trial in reinventing and connecting to Japan's Edo and Meiji periods, which simultaneously skipped over and

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1 Debbie Lisle's treatment of the topic, its excellent analysis of the current discourse notwithstanding, is a typical treatment of Hiroshima as a nuclear site, completely bereft of the longer history of the city. See Lisle 2016, pp. 135–41. Starting with Lisa Yoneyama, a number of scholars have examined aspects of Hiroshima's A-bomb tourism but most have stuck to the postwar era. See Schäfer 2016; Siegenthaler 2002; Yoneyama 1999; Zwigenberg 2013; Zwigenberg 2016. Dick Stegewerns' work on representations of Hiroshima in foreign and Japanese media is a good exception to the trend. See Stegewerns 2012.

2 Whether the bomb also ended the war was another matter. Most historians now reject the assertion that the A-bomb led to the Japanese surrender. See Hasegawa 2007.

3 The building, conspicuous in its European features within the Japanese city, was a symbol of Japan's embrace of a European-inspired modernity. The bomb ended this phase in Japan's modernity, but the building itself was left stranded, torn out of time, while the city around it embarked on its exercise in American-inspired, highly modernist city planning in the fifties. Yoneyama 1999, pp. 2–3.

4 Nunokawa 2014, p. 17.

erased the troubled imperialist era. Furthermore, by reconnecting with the ideal samurai past, the castle builders reinscribed and rehabilitated, on the terrain of tourism and heritage promotion, the masculine and military discourses that were lost with the castle.[5] Using the castle as a lens, I consider Hiroshima's role as a military city up to 1945, then, after a short survey of the transition period under the Occupation, focus on the reconstruction of the castle and the debates that surrounded it.

Gunto: Hiroshima's Prewar Military Tourism

Hiroshima's strategic location on the Inland Sea made it an important site in modern military history. Already at the time of the Restoration wars, Hiroshima was a military center for the shogun's forces that assembled for the first and second Chōshū expeditions in 1864 and 1866, with thousands of men, cannons, and horses pouring into the city.[6] The Hiroshima domain quickly changed sides thereafter and, following the arrival of the loyalist armies, the castle became the site of the Fourth Kumamoto Garrison. The Imperial Army's Eleventh Regiment moved to the citadel's outer perimeter in 1875, thus enlarging the military area, and a parade ground was built on its western side. Another major step occurred in 1888 when the Fifth Division was established in Hiroshima, making the whole Motomachi area of Hiroshima a military zone. The first commanding general of the division was Lieutenant General Nozu Michitsura 野津道貫 (1841–1908). Nozu was later made head of the First Army in the Sino-Japanese War and commander of the Fourth Army in the Russo-Japanese War. His career shows the importance of Hiroshima as a military site, and the prestige of an appointment to the Fifth Division.[7] The division spearheaded most subsequent Japanese invasions of the Korean peninsula and the Asian mainland, making Hiroshima, and especially Ujina 宇品 harbor, a major military center.[8]

Hiroshima's role was more than logistical; it was a central place for sending off troops and celebrating their return. City residents, especially politicians and civic groups (as well as school children and others), took active part in elaborate ceremonies to mark the departure and return of troops.[9] Such "celebrations to welcome the victorious [army]" (*gaisen shiki* 凱旋式), which included military parades, patriotic displays, and popular entertainment, were modeled on German celebrations after the Franco-Prussian War, and were held all over Japan.[10] On these occasions, the *tenshu* was open for a display of captured weapons from Japan's wars, as well as for exhibits about historical events that had taken place at the castle.[11] This bore important implications for the castle. As in Osaka, Himeji, and other cities, the establishment of the castle base meant that the castle was mostly off limits to civilians. Soldiers and their families, however, were allowed on the site throughout the period, on occasions such as units' and battle anniversaries. The military also occasionally opened the castle grounds for public events, not all of which were related to the military. The *tenshu* was opened for visitors every spring at cherry blossom time and was a favorite picture-taking spot

5 I thank the readers for this insight.
6 Chūgoku Shinbunsha 1993, p. 215.
7 Nunokawa 2014, p. 21.
8 Nunokawa 2014.
9 Nunokawa 2014, p. 24.
10 Mizuno 2015, p. 49.
11 Hiroshima-shi Bunka Zaidan Hiroshima-jō 2008, p. 41.

for residents.[12] Other events included the annual celebrations of Japan's military victories over China and Russia, as well as major expositions. The first ever exposition in Hiroshima in 1889, celebrating the incorporation of the city, and various other prefectural industrial promotion expositions were held on the castle grounds through the 1910s and 1920s. These expositions, along with the annual events, combined to produce an association of the castle with the military—and the Fifth Division (Hiroshima's home division) in particular—and with the identity of the city as a *gunto* 軍都 or military city.

Central to these convergences was the presence on the castle grounds of the imperial headquarters buildings. The castle's "moment in the sun" in Japanese military history came in 1894 when, during the first Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895, the Meiji emperor moved to Hiroshima and established the Imperial General Headquarters (Daihon'ei 大本営) to direct campaigns on the continent. He remained at Hiroshima for the duration of the war, and to show the people's solidarity with the emperor and the soldiers on the continent, the Seventh Imperial Diet also moved to Hiroshima that year. The Hiroshima citizenry proudly marked this occasion every year on 15 September in a festival commemorating the advance of the imperial banner into their city (Taitō Shinten Kinenbi 大纛進転記念日). Until 1945, this day was celebrated on the Western Parade Ground with much military pomp and ceremony.[13] In 1926, then-Prince Regent Hirohito participated in the ceremonies, an event celebrated by the city in special postcards and other memorabilia.

In 1929, the city marked Hirohito's ascent to the throne with the Showa Industrial Exposition. Significantly, although it marked a national event, the president of the exposition was the former lord of Hiroshima Castle, Asano Nagakoto 浅野長勲 (1842–1937), whose appointment emphasized local pride and continuity.[14] Although there were some military displays, the 1929 expo was for the most part civilian in nature. Hiroshima and other prefectures' industries occupied most of the ground, and horse and car races, model planes, and a "children's land" were the main attractions. The children's event displayed a humanoid robot (*jinzō ningen* 人造人間), which was capable of speaking through an operator. It was sponsored by the Mainichi newspaper and proved immensely popular.[15] The military was not completely absent, however. As for other events, the *tenshu* was opened on the occasion of the exposition and featured a historical exhibit with strong military themes.[16] Visitors were encouraged to explore other sites on the castle ground, most of which were related to the Sino- and Russo-Japanese wars. The most important of these was the former Imperial HQ (see figure 1). The exhibit brochure emphasized that, "This city was the most important military locale during the wars of Meiji 28 (1895) and 37 (1904), as well as Taisho (1914), a fact which remains fresh in the memories of the people."[17] Three years later, the theme of the 1932 Current Affairs Exposition (Jikyoku Hakurankai 時局博覧会) was much more somber and almost completely military in nature. Sponsored by the Fifth Division, together with the prefecture, the city, the chamber of commerce, and local newspaper companies, it was part of the nationwide military frenzy that overtook Japan

12 Hiroshima-shi Bunka Zaidan Hiroshima-jō 2008, p. 54.
13 Chūgoku Shinbunsha 1993, pp. 220–42.
14 Shōwa Sangyō Hakurankai Kyōsankai 1930b, p. 2.
15 Chūgoku Shinbunsha 1993, p. 433.
16 Chūgoku Shinbunsha 1993, p. 434; Shōwa Sangyō Hakurankai Kyōsankai 1930a, p. 13.
17 Chūgoku Shinbunsha 1993, p. 9.

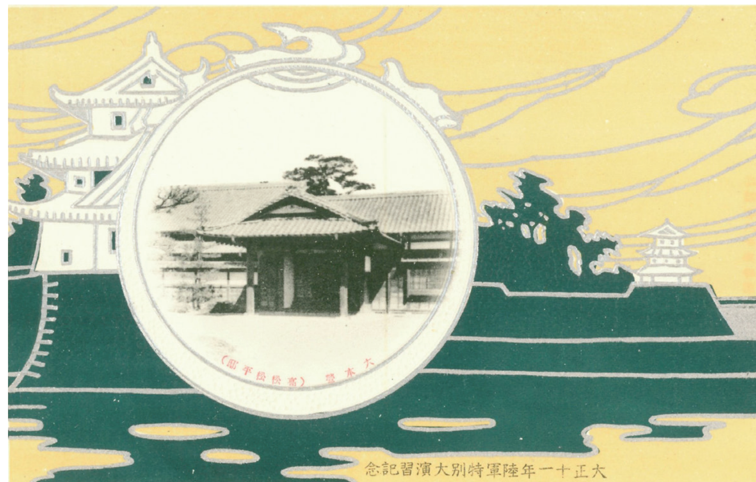

Figure 1. An undated tourist postcard of the Imperial General Headquarters. Courtesy of Oleg Benesch.

following the invasion of Manchuria.[18] This time the president of the expo was not an Asano, but the commander of the Fifth Division. The expo featured artillery pieces, tanks, weapons, and a type thirteen bomber. The exhibit included panoramas of major battles on the continent, and mannequins of the "three human bombs," and sentries freezing in Manchuria. Bloodstained articles belonging to local soldiers were also on display.[19]

Exhibition brochures often doubled as tourist guides. The expositions drew thousands of visitors to the city and served to promote the city's image. Tourism was another tool for educating the citizenry and emphasizing Hiroshima's *gunto* identity, and it played a special role in Hiroshima's promotion of its image in both the prewar and postwar eras, with imperial and military sites serving as the city's most important sightseeing spots. This was part of a general Japanese trend of using tourism to promote patriotism. As David Leheny and Kenneth Ruoff demonstrate, tourism and its promotion were intensely political matters in prewar Japan.[20] Japan was virtually alone among developed nations (at least until the rise of totalitarianism) in creating state-sponsored tour packages, building hotels, writing guides, and promoting tourism as a means of both educating its own citizens and promoting its image among visitors from abroad.[21] Under fascism, officials explicitly called for tourism to serve as a tool for "winning the hearts and minds" of citizens of neutral countries, in service of Japan's war aims in Asia.[22] Foreign tourists were to be won over by Japanese courtesy and charm, which would then in theory positively affect Japan's image abroad. Domestic tourists, in turn, would take part in "patriotic tourism [as a sort of] dutiful consumerism […]

18 Young 1999, pp. 55–56.

19 Chūgoku Shinbunsha 1993, p. 234; Hiroshima-shi Bunka Zaidan Hiroshima-jō 2008, p. 40. The "three human bombs" referred to three Japanese soldiers who supposedly sacrificed their lives in a suicide mission on the Chinese front. The three became national heroes, though it is doubtful whether their story was true.

20 Ruoff 2010; Leheny 2003.

21 Kenneth Ruoff surveys some of the literature on European fascists' promotion of tourism in his article on Japanese tourism to the empire. See Ruoff 2014, p. 171.

22 Leheny 2000, pp. 173–74.

exemplifying the concept of self-administered citizenship training."[23] Hiroshima's role was mostly domestic as it had little to offer foreign visitors (who tended to visit the nearby island of Miyajima and skip the city). Domestically, the city was part of a network of newly minted heritage sites, which promoted pilgrimage-like journeys to national sites along with the new leisure activities of Japan's emerging middle class.[24]

Prewar Hiroshima guides heavily promoted memorial and military sites celebrating Japan's victories on the continent, which, besides the castle and the Meiji emperor's former headquarters, included scores of victory gates, memorials, and a large military cemetery. A 1915 guide, *Hiroshima annai* 広島案内, published on the occasion of the Hiroshima Education Exposition, opens with a visit to the Monument to Loyalty (*seichūhi* 旌忠碑), which "commemorates the great deeds of the Hiroshima Garrison soldiers who were martyred in service in the southwest [that is, during the Satsuma rebellion]."[25] Another location listed is the Loyalty Hall (*chūkon shidō* 忠魂祠堂), dedicated to the souls of the martyrs of the three great campaigns, namely the Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars, and World War I (figure 2).[26] The guide explores many other memorials and imperial sites, including the First Army War Dead Memorial, the emperor's temporary lodging (from the Sino-Japanese War era), Ujina harbor, and the army's uniform factory, as sightseeing locales.[27] Hiroshima's main attraction, however, was the Imperial HQ and the castle (figure 3). The guide emphasizes the emperor's selfless service during the war: "The emperor arrived on 15 September in the year Meiji 27 (1894), establishing his temporary offices and directing the affairs of state here until 27 April of the following year, as though he himself were at the head of the army. This place shall stand forever as an imperishable monument to those magnificent efforts."[28]

Most prewar guides stuck to the formula established in these early guides. A 1922 illustrated guide to Hiroshima, the *Hiroshima kankōkyaku annai zue* 広島観光客案内図絵, calls Hiroshima both a naval and army *gunto*, with "the great Meiji emperor's sacred ground, the Imperial Headquarters, and the [former] temporary palace," located in Hiroshima Castle. The castle adorns the cover of every guide examined by this author, including this one.[29] The guide also emphasizes the straitened conditions under which the emperor carried out state business: "The emperor carried out the affairs of state within this small, humble single room."[30] The 1925 edition of *Hiroshima annai* narrates the history of Hiroshima and its expansion as it became "one of the great cities of Japan's empire […] due to the various military campaigns, and thanks to a combination of our force of arms and the divine will."[31] In exploring the imperial sites, the guide again emphasizes the sacrifice of the emperor, saying, "to see the modest simplicity of it makes both body and heart tense up with

23 Ruoff 2010, p. 83.
24 Tourist promotion along patriotic lines was almost exclusively for domestic audiences. Prewar Japanese guides in English give a brief standard version of the castle and city history, but hardly focus on either as a tourist site.
25 Hiroshima-ken 1915, p. 24.
26 Hiroshima-ken 1915.
27 Hiroshima-ken 1915, pp. 26–27, 30.
28 Hiroshima-ken 1915, p. 29.
29 Hiroshima Kankō Kyōkai 1919. The guide has no page numbers.
30 Hiroshima Kankō Kyōkai 1919.
31 Nakagawa 1925, p. 2.

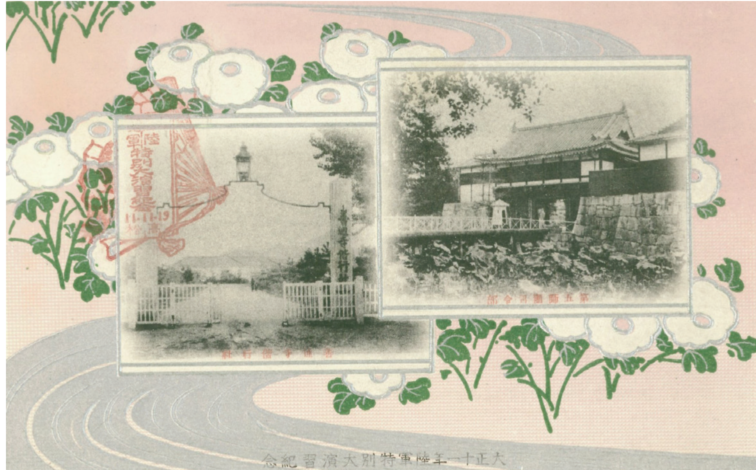

Figure 2. The memorial hall for the war dead side by side with the gate of Hiroshima Castle on a tourist postcard. Courtesy of Oleg Benesch.

Figure 3. Hiroshima Castle on a tourist postcard. Courtesy of Oleg Benesch.

emotion."[32] Regarding the temporary palace, which was relocated to the castle grounds, another guide from 1931 says, "There is a ceaseless stream of humble visitors nostalgic for the boundless sacred virtue [of the Meiji emperor]."[33] Some of the articles from the Meiji emperor's funeral were also transferred to the site and put on display.

The emphasis on the imperial sites is very much in line with what Takashi Fujitani calls "mnemonic sites: that is, material vehicles of meaning that either helped construct a memory of an emperor-centered national past […] or served as symbolic markers for commemorations of present national accomplishments and the possibilities of the future."[34] Fujitani's classic study of the Japanese monarchy demonstrates how closely connected such sites were with the rise of the Japanese emperor system, which he views in Foucauldian terms of "ocular domination," with the past and present emperors "imagined as casting a single and centralizing gaze" over his subjects.[35] Such a lens is useful also for a reading of Hiroshima's prewar tourist sites, and, given the tragic end of the city, almost inescapable.

The guides also displayed a lighter side, however. A 1929 Showa Exposition guide, for instance, commented that some of the military sites, such as Hijiyama Military Cemetery, are "quite boring, so it is advised not to bring children or old folks with you."[36] Such comments remind the reader of the voluntary nature of such trips, and the many different ways tourists might have related to imperial and military sites. As Kenneth Ruoff notes, "National heritage tourism is something that states as a rule simply do not force their citizens into."[37] Tourism had significant political value to the state and to Hiroshima, and it certainly cemented the city's idea of itself as *gunto*, but, while "visits to imperial heritage sites might have been spun as dutiful, it was leisure travel all the same, with travelers partaking in pleasurable diversions."[38] Visitors had a choice whether or not to visit such sites, and most did so as part of a larger trip to the region which included many other destinations as well.

Indeed, guides also displayed countless other sites, which, unlike the castle area and its various military and imperial shrines, were marketed as places of abundant beauty and charm. The most important of these, then as now, was the nearby island of Miyajima, site of the famous Itsukushima Shrine with its impressive red torii gates. Miyajima was mostly devoid of military sites, but even Miyajima's shrines could be used to promote patriotism. During the Russo-Japanese War, British nurse Ethel McCaul visited Miyajima. She reported visiting a shrine built by Toyotomi Hideyoshi to commemorate the war dead of his failed invasions of Korea:

> […] we visited the historic hall of "Sengo Kaku" [sic; Senjōkaku 千畳閣], which was built over four hundred years ago by Taikou [太閤, Hideyoshi], as a hall where warriors, before going to battle, could leave written petitions to the god of war that they might be victorious. This ceremony is still continued, for while we were there we saw a great number of soldiers who had come over for this express purpose before starting for the

32 Nakagawa 1925, p. 42.
33 Hiroshima-shi Kyōsankai 1928, pp. 11–12.
34 Fujitani 1998, p. 11.
35 Fujitani 1998, p. 24.
36 Shōwa Sangyō Hakurankai Kyōsankai 1930a, p. 7.
37 Ruoff 2010, p. 83.
38 Ruoff 2010, pp. 103–104.

> front. The prayers are written on little shaped pieces of wood resembling a rice-spoon, and it is no exaggeration to say that there were many thousands hanging in this hall, and many more waiting to go up. It was strange but impressive to see this enormous building filled with these simple tokens of fervent patriotism, and to think that this custom had lasted over three hundred years.[39]

Such a direct connection with Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea is significant in that it created continuity between Japan's past and present military exploits (a correlation which could also, of course, be viewed quite differently by Asian victims of Japan's aggression). Such connections were the mainstay of the army's spiritual education programs for soldiers. The military's education for soldiers emphasized patriotism, imperial loyalty, and self-sacrifice, while appropriating and reinventing historical symbols to support its aims. These included aspects of Japan's idealized feudal past, such as an emperor-focused interpretation of *bushidō*, the "way of the samurai," which was, in fact, largely a creation of the late Meiji period.[40]

Heritage tourism was an important part of this effort by the state to educate soldiers through reinterpretations of history. At the same time, as the Senjōkaku episode demonstrates, soldiers were themselves taking part in the general expansion of domestic tourism. Service in the military brought many lower-class Japanese into contact with Japan's famed heritage and other sites for the first time. The military took full advantage of soldiers' sightseeing, producing over two hundred and fifty military tourist guides for Japan and the empire.[41] The Hiroshima Bay Central Command produced one such guide in 1912. As Katsube Naotatsu 勝部直達 argues, Hiroshima's character as a *gunto* and the central role of the army in the city are made quite clear by the guide.[42] The *Hiroshima chimei sakuin* 広島市地名索引 (Index of Hiroshima's Famous Places) details Hiroshima's many military sites, giving particular attention to the castle, which it connects with the Imperial HQ and its role in Japan's wars.[43]

Thus, in Hiroshima, as in many other castles and heritage sites, Japan's past was mobilized in the service of the imperial state. Visitors both civilian and military associated the castle with Japan's martial heritage, which in turn was connected with its current mission on the continent. Hiroshima's identity as a *gunto* was both physically and symbolically woven around the castle site, which was, together with Miyajima, a pillar of Hiroshima's efforts to promote tourism. The A-bomb and Japan's defeat changed this. Erasing both physically and figuratively the sites of imperial loyalty, the bomb turned the city from a military city to a city of peace. Consequently, both the city's tourism agenda and its castle were completely transformed.

Where Old Banners Streamed: The Castle as Ruin

At the end of the war, Hiroshima Castle, like much of the surrounding city, was a graveyard. The castle keep had caved in from the force of the blast, and the shockwave and fires destroyed most other buildings, pulverizing and killing the thousands of troops stationed

39 McCaul 1904, pp. 102–103.
40 Benesch 2014, pp. 150–73.
41 Katsube 1982, p. 2.
42 Katsube 1982, p. 4.
43 Hiroshima-wan Yōsai Shireibu 1982, p. 35.

in and around the castle.[44] The loss of the castle was keenly felt in Hiroshima. Even with the tremendous carnage and destruction wrought on Hiroshima by the A-bomb, the loss of such a familiar marker of Hiroshima's identity was often remarked on as especially painful. The A-bomb did not only kill and maim Hiroshima residents, but also erased their past. This was symbolized by the disappearance of the visible markers of urban geography, of which the castle was the most important. Ogura Toyofumi 小倉豊文 (1899–1996), a university lecturer, wrote that the biggest shock for him after the carnage of the bomb was the disappearance of the city's landmarks, "the temples in Teramachi and the Honganji sect buildings, then the castle itself, which was visible from everywhere […]. Gone […] symbols of our town. All gone."[45] Matsumoto Masao 松本正夫, who returned from Henan in April 1946, remembered a scene of total ruin and destruction. Matsumoto recalled that, as a young boy, he would see the white walls of the magnificent *tenshu*, "peerless under heaven" (*tenka ippin* 天下一品), reflected in the river alongside the white-sailed river crafts and merchants selling their wares under the castle's cherry blossoms. As he approached the city center from Yokogawa Station, none of this remained. There was only "death and desolation."[46]

The lost war meant a reorientation of the city's identity. As in the prewar era, tourism played a very important role in the transformation. Debates over tourism were part of a much wider effort to find an acceptable way to talk about the bomb and the defeat within the American-imposed order. The narratives, which I have examined in detail elsewhere, focused on the trope of the destruction as an opportunity to move away from the (errant) militarist modernity of the war era into a bright (Americanized) modern future.[47] These debates were taking place within a framework imposed by the American Occupation's censorship, which forbade open talk of the A-bomb. At the same time, because of their symbolic importance, Hiroshima and Nagasaki became symbols of peace and reconciliation, receiving official acknowledgment from the Japanese government and SCAP of their status, as well as special funds for reconstruction.[48] In this narrative, Hiroshima was transformed by the bomb into a transnational city of peace with a special mission to warn the world of the dangers of nuclear war. Japan's celebrated peace constitution and the discourse of peace made Japanese adherents of what Carol Gluck calls "a cult of new beginnings," which helped them forget what had preceded the end of the war.[49] In one of the more extreme examples of such rhetoric, Mayor Hamai Shinzō 浜井信三 (1905–1968) pronounced in a letter to the president of Carroll College in Wisconsin, "On August 6th 1945 our city of Hiroshima was *born anew*."[50]

In its 1947 yearbook (*Shisei yōran* 市勢要覧), the Hiroshima City Tourist Promotion Section reported the reestablishment of a tourist board with the cooperation of the local Chamber of Commerce. "Hiroshima," it continued, "enjoys a great location on the inland sea, with beautiful nature and ski resorts close by." Then without delay, it added, "Hiroshima was made famous internationally by the atomic bomb, and we can make it a world-famous

44 Hiroshima-jō 2008, p. 4.
45 Ogura 1948, p. 84.
46 Matsumoto 1986, p. 23.
47 Zwigenberg 2014, p. 28.
48 Because of space limitations, Nagasaki's own (in many respects unique) development is not examined here.
49 Quoted in Saito 2006, p. 363.
50 Zwigeneberg 2014, p. 14. Emphasis added.

tourist city for both domestic and foreign visitors."[51] At this stage, however, the city was still at a loss as to how exactly to achieve this. The section listed famous sites which were the anchor of Hiroshima's prewar tourism, saying, "In this city we had the [Meiji] Imperial Headquarters, the emperor's temporary palace, the site of the Seventh Imperial Diet, Hiroshima Castle—a national treasure, and the shrine honoring the war dead (Gokoku Jinja 護国神社), all of which were swept away by the fire and calamity of war on 6 August 1945. Now there is almost [nothing] left."[52] These sites, the mainstay of Hiroshima prewar tourism, were not just destroyed but were also no longer acceptable as places of pilgrimage. Hiroshima's atomic sites, however, quickly emerged to take their place.

As Hiroshima tourist officials were finding out, Allied soldiers and others were flooding their city in search of atomic souvenirs and exploring the sites destroyed by the A-bomb.[53] In the 1948 yearbook, the newer "historical ruins" (*shiseki* 史跡) of the A-bomb were already listed side by side with the old imperial sites. "In our city both tourist resources and infrastructure were completely destroyed. But out of the ruins our new tourist resources have emerged."[54] In other words, "We have the objects [and buildings] preserved by the bomb. Ground Zero, the former Aoi bridge, the Industrial Promotion Hall [the future A-bomb dome], the Chamber of Commerce Building, the ruins of the Gokoku Jinja, the ruins of the Imperial HQ, Osaka Bank [site of the famous human shadow …], the Miyukibashi Gas works tanks. [After all] right now […] any international tourist's schedule in Japan includes a visit to Hiroshima's *A-bomb historical ruins*."[55] Such a move inadvertently emphasized the continuity between imperial and A-bomb sites. Significantly, however, Hiroshima tourist officials promoted these sites as historical ruins, thus making them into sites removed in time and space, rather than the subjects of a very recent, painful, and controversial history of imperial aggression and total war.

The 1948 *Shisei yōran* was the last time the imperial sites made an appearance in Hiroshima guides and city documents. The only site which was still promoted was Hiroshima Castle. The castle's main function was as a ruin from a bygone age, signifying not continuity of tradition but a break with the past. The barren battlements of the castle quickly became one of the symbols of Hiroshima's destruction. From 1948 to 1958, the official annual summary of city activities featured before-and-after pictures of the castle, contrasting the grand pre-bomb building with the desolation of the abandoned post-bomb ruins.[56] In official city publications, this feeling of loss was quickly reinterpreted and inserted into the city's new rendering of itself as a symbol of world peace. Hiroshima's gaze was firmly fixed on a future of peace and prosperity. The castle, in this retelling of history, was a site of the past, now forsaken. A 1949 English-language guidebook, *Hiroshima Yesterday and Today*, lamented that "Hiroshima Castle, former site of the Imperial Headquarters, was utterly destroyed and nothing remains now but the foundation stones of the castle; the reeds grow thick along the ditches. The desolate scene reminds one of an old Japanese poem:

51 Hiroshima-shi 1947, p. 79. These can also be found in the Hiroshima Memorial Museum document room.
52 Hiroshima-shi 1947.
53 Zwigenberg 2016, p. 628.
54 Hiroshima-shi 1948, p. 100.
55 Hiroshima-shi 1948, p. 101. Emphasis added.
56 See for instance Hiroshima-shi 1949, p. 14; and the first page of Hiroshima-shi 1950 (pages not numbered). These can also be found in the Hiroshima Memorial Museum document room.

Summer grasses grow/Where old banners streamed/And warriors of glories dreamed."[57] This distancing of the past made the castle instantly quaint and removed it from the present, further highlighting the theme of transformation, and stripping the site of any potentially subversive contemporary meaning.

In the beginning, however, the site's military past was on open display. Ogura Toyofumi, for instance, saw the A-bomb as a punishment for Hiroshima's sins of militarism: "We have no one but ourselves to blame for letting the military men lead us to war, and accept the dropping of the bomb as the expiation of these sins."[58] Initially, there was an acute awareness of Hiroshima's role in Japan's wars. In an address to the city assembly on 6 December 1945, Mayor Kihara Shichirō 木原七郎 (1874–1951) stated this in no uncertain terms:

> As you [are] aware, until now Hiroshima's identity and prosperity was based on the three areas of the military, government, and education. Throughout its history, and especially following the Sino- and Russo-Japanese wars, Hiroshima expanded with every war. Until the end of the Great East Asia War, Hiroshima boasted of its identity as a military city. However, the city was wiped out in one blow by the atomic bomb, and thus *gunto* Hiroshima was completely destroyed and done away with. With [this] one blow, the people's militarism was eradicated, [and] at the same time Hiroshima turned [its efforts] in the opposite direction from [its] *gunto* [identity], becoming a peace education city. This was an opportunity for a fresh start sent from Heaven.[59]

Mirroring such sentiment, an early plan for the site proposed the construction of a full-scale Statue of Liberty atop the now barren *tenshu* base (figure 4). In July 1947, the *Chūgoku shinbun* 中国新聞 reported on a plan by the Japan Peace Culture Society (Nihon Heiwa Bunka Kyōkai 日本平和文化協会), headed by Hiroshima University's Osada Arata 長田新 (1887–1962), to raise a "replica of the Statue of Liberty within the castle's inner moat." Around the statue, Osada suggested building a museum and other facilities. The proposal aimed at showing that Hiroshima and Japan have "abandoned the way of the sword [...] and now strive to become a nation of culture and peace." Osada further connected the castle as a particular site of militarism to the A-bomb and to Hiroshima's postwar mission. "The plans for a peace festival and plaques commemorating the end of the war are but temporary means which can be easily discarded. However, if we build a symbol of peace like the Goddess of Peace (Heiwa no Megami 平和の女神) which towers above Manhattan's shores [...] we will purify the former Hiroshima Castle, site of the military clique that disturbed the peace with their crimes and was [thus] destroyed by Heaven for their sins. We will [then] plant the seedlings of peace and nurture them [...] building a palace for culture, music, and sports [on the site]."[60] The proposal might seem outlandish, but it was debated for a number of months and was supported by the *Chūgoku shinbun* in a January 1948 editorial.[61] Nevertheless, the

57 Okazaki 1949, pp. 12–13.
58 Ogura 1948, p. 121.
59 Quoted in Nunokawa 2014, p. 18.
60 *Chūgoku shinbun* 9.7.1947.
61 *Chūgoku shinbun* 8.1.1948.

城跡に"自由の女神"

あすの廣島を世界平和のメッカ

レールの蛇行

狀狂いが原因

扶助料

Figure 4. The 1947 article describing the Statue of Liberty Castle Plan. *Chūgoku shinbun* 9.7.1947. Courtesy of the *Chūgoku Shinbunsha* newspaper company.

castle land's complex legal standing, and especially the question of legal ownership of the former military land prevented this and other schemes from materializing.[62]

The height of the castle's role as a center for peace culture was in 1951, when the Sixth National Youth Athletic Competition (Kokutai 国体) took place in the castle.[63] This gathering was held over two months and was the first major national event to take place in Hiroshima after the war.[64] The meet brought together young teams from across Japan and drew visitors from as far as Osaka. It involved athletic competitions, and an exhibition and was treated by the city as a major opportunity for demonstrating Hiroshima's recovery. Significantly, the Kokutai was also the occasion for the first reconstruction of the castle, examined in more detail below. In a special brochure printed for the occasion, the anonymous authors declared, emphasizing the city's ongoing transformation and progress, "Castle city Hiroshima! Military capital Hiroshima! Atom Hiroshima! Hiroshima, which was built as a peace city through an unprecedented special law […] more than 350 years of Hiroshima's history are expressed most clearly [on this site]."[65] *The Peace Bells*, a

62 For the peace center, see *Chūgoku shinbun* 28.8.1950, and for other initiatives, including a peace tower, see *Chūgoku shinbun* 12.9.1950.

63 The full name was the Kokumin taiiku taikai 国民体育大会 or Kokutai—which abbreviation is identical to the militarist-era name for the national polity of Japan, one of the key terms of imperial propaganda.

64 The Kokutai took place over the course of 64 days, from March 25 to May 27.

65 Hiroshima-shi Junbi Iinkai Jimukyoku.

documentary shot for the occasion, likewise emphasized the "restoration of Hiroshima," and in a sequence of shots connected the castle site to the A-bomb Dome and other symbolic "A-bomb ruins." The film was replete with scenes of children's smiling faces watching the events, as well as countless declarations and speeches proclaiming, "The symbol of peaceful Japan, the sixth annual Kokutai […] which is held at the center of the world-renowned atom city Hiroshima [… which is] now restored as our nation's first peace city."[66] The temporary reconstruction of the castle was prominent as a backdrop to the events and, although it was not officially designated as such, quickly became the symbolic center for the gathering.

In both postwar and prewar expositions and tourism materials, the castle was an indispensable symbol of Japaneseness and a connection to the regional and national past, often juxtaposed with the modern present. Such continuities were especially clear in Hiroshima's 1951 Kokutai and the much larger 1958 Recovery Exposition (Fukkō Hakurankai 復興博覧会). The Kokutai's official journal opened with the emperor's visit to Hiroshima and his message to the participants. The imperial couple's tour of Hiroshima, "our city of peace," was capped by a picture of the humbly-dressed Hirohito waving to his former subjects with the temporary reconstruction of Hiroshima Castle in the background.[67] An earlier prewar visit by Hirohito shortly before his accession to the throne was similarly celebrated, but the commemorative picture showed him in full military regalia, with three biplanes flying over the majestic prewar castle.[68] The emperor indeed supplied a particularly potent symbol of continuity. An imperial visit, by Hirohito or other members of the imperial family, was a part of every major expo. Like the mass entertainment, elaborate commercial exhibits of the nation's future, and the castles themselves, royal visits became part of the format of expositions that transcended the defeat and the shift from imperial and military grandeur to promises of economic prosperity and peace.

As I have examined in detail elsewhere in my co-authored work with Oleg Benesch, castle sites all over Japan provided the backdrop for such events and played a symbolic role in whichever mobilization—war or reconstruction—the organizers were aiming for.[69] Being the only large public spaces in the heart of Japanese cities, castles played a similar role across Japan. Osaka Castle is another example of such use. After the war the castle served as the site of the Kōwa Kinen Fujin to Kodomo Dai Hakurankai 講和記念婦人とこども大博覧会 ([San Francisco] Reconciliation [Treaty] Commemorative Women and Children Grand Exposition), aimed at explaining to visitors recent history and women's new civic role.[70] The Kōwa expo was sponsored by the City of Osaka and two newspaper companies, the *Ōsaka shinbun* 大阪新聞 and *Sangyō keizai shinbun* 産業経済新聞, both of which were controlled by Maeda Hisakichi 前田久吉 (1893–1986). Maeda, who was a veteran newspaperman and was involved in sponsoring expositions before the war, presented the expo as his contribution to the democratization of Japan.[71] The expo was held so that "women and children as well could hold their hands together in welcoming this spring of peace and reconciliation (*kōwa*

66 Sakita 2008, p. 29.
67 Dai Roku Kokumin Taiiku Taikai Hiroshima-ken Junbi Iinkai Jimukyoku 1951, pp. 2–3.
68 "Sesshō no Miya Denka Hiroshima gyōkei kinen."
69 Benesch and Zwigenberg 2019.
70 Kōwa was short for the *San Furanshisuko Kōwa Jōyaku* サンフランシスコ講和条約 (San Francisco Peace and Reconciliation Treaty).
71 Kawaguchi 2007, p. 156.

講和), and [to ensure] the new Japan will properly prosper in the democratic world."[72] Osaka Castle, a new-old symbol of regional pride, played an important role in the organizers' schemes. Although only twenty years old at the time, the castle was the site of tradition (much as with its role as the site of the Hideyoshi Pavilion in the Greater Osaka expo), housing the Native Place Pavilion (Kyōdokan 郷土館) and other exhibits relating to famous Osaka sites. Significantly, the expo brochure emphasized the transition of the castle site from "a closed military zone" into a "place for citizens' peaceful enjoyment."[73] Castles were thus once again used in mobilizing the populace through leisure in service of the state's new identity. Maeda used the very word "mobilization" (*dōin* 動員) when calling on women to support the new peace constitution.[74] Castles, with their supposed antiquity, served as physical reminders of the past, a locus of pride in place, reminding residents of their region's unique contribution to the nation. Both the prewar and postwar expos employed the same format, tying regional pride to national projects.

Reconstructions: Celebrations of Recovery in Hiroshima

On 27 July 1955, shortly after his election, Mayor Watanabe Tadao 渡辺忠雄 (1898–2005) spoke to the city assembly about the need to adapt the peace city development plans to the changing economic circumstances of Japan, and his intention to turn Hiroshima into an "industry city."[75] Watanabe's move was in line with other cities' agendas and part of a wider conservative agenda that sought to "overcome" the excesses of the Occupation and normalize conservative rule, economic growth, and a limited return of pre-Occupation values. Castles and castle-building were a part of this dynamic. In Hiroshima, as in many other places, castles were rebuilt as symbols of urban recovery and regional identity. Castles and the exhibitions for which they were built were "safe" sites where conservatives could celebrate regional uniqueness, economic strength, and a reemerging Japanese identity. They were sites where the Japanese relationship to the past, especially to the Edo period, could be reformulated and disengaged from its connection with fascism—sites where the past could be made safe again.

In Hiroshima, the assembly formed a committee in 1955 to draw up plans for his proposed development projects and changes to the city's identity. It was here that the idea of the Hiroshima Great Recovery Exhibition (Dai Fukkō Hakurankai 大復興博覧会) was first raised. The exhibition was supposed to symbolize the end of the war and supply a boost for the city economy, which was then recovering from the slump that followed the so-called *Jinmu* boom (*Jinmu keiki* 神武景気) of the mid-1950s.[76] The exhibition, Watanabe declared to the committee, was meant "to be a showcase for the flowering of [Hiroshima's] democratic culture […] a center of industry, politics, economics, and transportation for the Chūgoku region." Furthermore, the event would stimulate economic growth and attract tourists to "Hiroshima, the city of water, the Venice of the Far East […] a castle town with many historic sites, which together [with the castle] include the A-bomb Dome, the A-bomb Cenotaph, the Peace Memorial Museum, [and] historical A-bomb ruins and materials; now

72 Maeda 1952, p. 97.
73 Maeda 1952, p. 230.
74 Maeda 1952, p. 53.
75 Hiroshima-shi 1985a, p. 467.
76 Chūgoku Shinbunsha 1993, p. 239.

it is the world's 'Hiroshima,' the Peace Mecca, which tourists from Japan and abroad are flocking to see."[77]

Watanabe's conflation of the castle and other A-bomb sites was not unique. As we saw, the castle was part of an array of A-bomb sites from very early on, supplying the background for a new narrative that separated A-bomb ruins and the war into a distant past; it was the only prewar site which made the transition. In the mid-1950s, however, Watanabe went a step further and pushed to rebuild the castle. No longer an A-bomb site, the castle was to be rebuilt as an act of restoration of Hiroshima's prewar grandeur. The castle was built as part of Hiroshima's recovery exhibition, which was the symbolic peak of Watanabe's plan to transform the city.[78] The 1958 exhibition was not the first time the castle was rebuilt. As noted earlier, a mock wooden *tenshu* was built during the Kokutai seven years before, and had been a great success. The city had initially been against that reconstruction, fearing it would be a safety hazard.[79] It was the company that set up the amusement park at the castle site that initiated the idea. The *tenshu* was constructed "exactly how it was before the war."[80] Local lore has it that the carpenter in charge "threatened to commit *seppuku* if the building collapsed."[81] That did not prove necessary, however. The building held, and it drew enormous crowds, demonstrating Hiroshima residents' nostalgia for their "Carp Castle." Many residents rushed to have their picture taken in front of the mock castle. The photographs movingly transmit the festive feeling around the castle keep.[82] Pictures and residents' comments reveal a yearning for the lost past, now buried under the rubble of the bomb and the new concrete buildings of the "Atom City." This attests to the fact that the movement to rebuild the castle was not merely a cynical ploy by right-wing politicians seeking to recreate a sanitized past, but also a response to a genuine yearning by Hiroshima citizens to get something of their city back.

The mock castle keep was heavily damaged in a typhoon a few months after the exhibition and was pulled down. The site subsequently stayed as it was for a number of years, falling into apparent neglect. As one assemblyman complained, the rebuilding of the castle was necessary as "it would double the [castle's] tourism value; it should not be left as is, a place for stray dogs to roam."[83] The city assembly approved the castle and expo budget in March 1957, which left planners only a year to design and build the *tenshu*.[84] The first order of business for the city was to obtain all the necessary permits. The Cultural Properties Committee, which had to approve all construction done on designated cultural properties, proved to be an obstacle and refused to approve the plan. The chairman of the committee stated, "[I] do not necessarily see the value in reconstructing the castle keep and recognizing it as a cultural asset. The castle [in fact] has historical value in its current

77 Hiroshima-shi 1985a, p. 468.

78 The exhibition was examined in more detail by this author and Fukuma Yoshiaki 福間良明. See Zwigenberg 2014, pp. 122–27, and Fukuma 2012, pp. 60–61.

79 Chūgoku Shinbunsha 1993, p. 238.

80 Hiroshima-jō 2008, p. 6.

81 Chūgoku Shinbunsha 1993, p. 238.

82 Some of these are now kept at the Hiroshima City Archive; reproduced in Hiroshima-jō 2008, pp. 7–8. The Carp Castle was the traditional name for Hiroshima's castle, so named for the many carp in its moat. The restoration in fact involved only the keep (main tower) and not the whole castle.

83 Hiroshima-shi 1985b, p. 228.

84 Handa 1986. Nagoya Castle took five years to build. See Hiroshima-shi Gikai 1957.

form, having been destroyed by the bomb. The *tenshu* cannot be rebuilt as it was, and though there are perhaps some positive aspects to [rebuilding] it as a cultural asset, these are outweighed by the negative [aspects]."[85] The committee decided to keep the castle as a ruin and a testament to the destruction of war rather than rebuild it in concrete. The city, which could not get funding without the committee's approval, launched a campaign to change this decision, and as with the shrine to the war dead, they were ultimately successful.[86] The initial much-publicized failure, however, stirred up powerful debates within the city as to the value of the castle rebuilding and the very identity of Hiroshima.

Many of the comments one finds in local newspapers supported the project. One reader captured the mood among supporters:

> Hiroshima is getting prettier each day. But my mind is not at ease. I want to see [again] the magnificent city we used to have. Seeing all those modern buildings rising on top of the charred earth of [our former town], many of us clamor for more greenery […] but what about the way we used to live, the way that was handed down to us from our past? If you think about this, [you will come to see] that the traditional life with which we grew up and which surrounded us is no more in Hiroshima […] a feeling of hometown (*kyōdo* 郷土) exists in every man's heart, but for us in Hiroshima, our hometown was destroyed by the flash of the bomb […] seeing the castle ruins reminds [one] of this […. Besides,] this will benefit the next generation's understanding of history and will bring much needed tourism.[87]

Many other readers' letters, however, were more negative. A number of readers argued that the city had better use for its money than rebuilding the castle. "Foreigners and returnees always point to how bad our roads are […] they should deal with this as well as with inadequate housing and the illegal buildings problem."[88] Another resident echoed the arguments of the Cultural Properties Committee: "For a new era to be built, the castle, which is a reminder of the nightmare (of war), should be disposed of. Even though these castle ruins are a symbol for those who yearn for the past, wouldn't it be better to build cultural facilities on the grounds? An atomic museum, an art museum, an aquarium—[facilities that] are befitting the peace city should be raised [there …]. This is the wish of us who live in this new age: stop the reconstruction of the castle."[89] Going even further, a 25 May letter from a reader called the castle "an embodiment of the past values of *bushidō*." The letter further pointed out that "it is doubtful [the castle reconstruction] could receive the enthusiastic support of the whole population."[90]

Progressives were generally critical of the castle boom as a whole. For many, it seemed to be a colossal waste of money and, worse still, a danger to democracy. Referring to the contemporary boom in rebuilding castles, the London *Times* reported that the Japanese "might have a sentimental attachment to feudal castles […] but they are not prepared to

85 Hiroshima-jō 2008, p. 15.
86 Hiroshima-jō 2008.
87 *Chūgoku shinbun* 22.5.1957.
88 *Chūgoku shinbun* 22.5.1957.
89 *Chūgoku shinbun* 29.5.1957.
90 *Chūgoku shinbun* 25.5.1957.

countenance such undemocratic attempts to resurrect a feudal past within their walls."[91] What kind of "feudal past" was to be resurrected and the very meaning of the word "feudal" were highly contested issues at the time. What the Hiroshima Castle builders were trying to achieve was a change in the relationship of contemporary Japanese to the Edo period. As Carol Gluck has pointed out, under the Occupation, the prewar and Edo periods were lumped together, labeled "feudal," and rejected. Many on the left were still suspicious of Edo culture, and "its 'feudal' tales of revenge, 'militaristic' swordplay, and exploitative hierarchy [were] deemed the enemy of American-style democracy.[92] The return of feudalism was, then, for many, the return of the militarism the castle once represented. While progressives were trying to protect the liberal legacy of the Occupation era, the men who set out to rebuild castles were trying to rehabilitate an idealized feudal past. In this telling of history, the Edo period did not lead to 1930s' fascism, but was instead refashioned as a lost pacific era—a treasure trove for Japanese culture, and a resource to draw upon for the efforts needed for reconstruction.

The city leadership celebrated the rebuilding of the castle in grand language, showing no such nuance. Significantly, however, the castle's military past was completely and utterly ignored. At the ceremonies marking the opening of the castle and the local history museum (Kyōdokan 郷土館) that it housed, Yamanaka Tadahiko 山中忠彦, the head of the Hiroshima prefecture Assembly, declared, "Hiroshima Castle shone brightly for over three hundred years as a symbol of Hiroshima and its traditions. One is deeply moved when seeing the Carp Castle keep restored. It is the most splendid [symbol] of Hiroshima's reconstruction."[93] The castle was one of the three locations of the expo, together with the modernist building of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, and Peace Boulevard. Hiroshima presented the castle as a symbol of tradition, but also—as physically embodied in the Hiroshima Peace Park and Peace Boulevard—of peace and modernity. The castle signified a supposed rootedness in the past and a continuity with what made Hiroshima Japanese, symbolized so brilliantly by the Edo-period architecture of the castle. On the exhibition poster, this combination was represented by a kimono-clad woman standing in front of a futuristic-looking complex with the "ancient" castle and the Peace Memorial in the background. Other posters featured doves and Isamu Noguchi's Peace Bridge. This holy trinity of identities (with the castle rebuilding as a benign center of past culture) masked the military function of the castle and its deep involvement in Japan's imperial endeavors on the continent during and after the Meiji period. For Hiroshima to claim its place as the Peace City, it needed to transcend this militaristic past. By virtue of rebuilding the castle as it did, Hiroshima bridged the gap between a mythologized Edo period and the modern present, erasing in the process the troubling years of Japan's first trial with modernity, and the wars and atrocities committed during that tragic era. By symbolically placing modern and Edo-period architecture side by side, Hiroshima seemed to emerge out of the supposed innocence of Edo into the bright modern present of the Peace City.

Hiroshima spared no expense in showcasing its modernity. At the opening ceremony on 1 April 1958, "on a perfect spring day and among the festive cherry blossoms," almost

91 *The Times of London* 1960.
92 Gluck 1998, p. 273.
93 Hiroshima-jō 2008, p. 32.

two thousand dignitaries were gathered at the expo's main site. Messages were read from many others, including Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke 岸信介 (1896–1987), who praised Hiroshima's role in bringing peace and serving as an example for Japan's "splendid recovery." In his speech, Mayor Watanabe emphasized Hiroshima's symbolic place in the world as a beacon of hope for the peace movement and Japan. Watanabe praised the city's contribution "in carrying high the banner of peace and inspiring others," and detailed its great success and economic growth after "[rising] from the atomic desert," expressing his hope that the exhibition "will contribute greatly to the future economic development and the recovery of this city."[94] It is impossible to do justice to the wealth of symbolic and ideological display at the exhibition. Side by side with demonstrations of modern industry, including an American Atoms for Peace exhibit, the exhibition featured displays of military power with a visit from American and Japanese Navy ships, complete with an American brass band and parade; an exhibit of modern domestic wonders such as televisions and other appliances; popular entertainment—including shows by Americanized celebrities like Toni Tani トニー 谷 (1917–1987) and Kosaka Kazuya 小坂一也 (1935–1999) singing country songs and wearing cowboy hats; an amusement park and children's shows; a pseudo-colonial display of a tribesman in his "natural" abode, here in the form of an Ainu artist representing Hokkaido.[95]

Hiroshima's recovery exhibition displayed a reinvented identity side by side with space technology, juxtaposing the bright future of Hiroshima with "the splendor of Hiroshima's past."[96] The closing ceremonies for the exhibition further emphasized connections to the past. On 17 and 18 May 1958, a procession from Hagi in Yamaguchi prefecture traveled to Hiroshima with great pomp and ceremony. The participants in this peculiar convoy dressed as Edo-era samurai and daimyo coming to pay their respects at the castle. The daimyo in question was actually a deputy mayor in full make-up and dress, carried in a palanquin surrounded by "samurai" and cheerful boy scouts.[97] Participants performed traditional dances in front of the futuristic satellite and space pavilions. Crowds thronged the streets of Hiroshima, welcoming the procession and cheering its arrival.[98] These displays of "tradition" allowed the cities involved to safely celebrate "feudal" values, banned during the Occupation, as harmless displays of local color. Local history museums were prominent spaces for this transition. They were filled with swords, helmets, and armor, and celebrated the martial exploits of local lords from the Warring States period. Progressives' criticisms notwithstanding, Japanese masculinity could here be celebrated, and feudalism and *bushidō* rehabilitated as tradition with their modern imperial history conveniently omitted. Thus, the recovery exposition was about much more than rebuilding the present city and castle: it was about repositioning and reinventing the past.

Conclusion

The effort to efface Hiroshima's military history was ultimately successful. The military's presence in Japan's castles and its role in Hiroshima's past are mostly ignored in

94 Hiroshima-shi 1959, p. 83.
95 Hiroshima-shi 1959, p. 137.
96 Hiroshima-jō 2008, p. 32.
97 *Chūgoku shinbun* 19.5.1958.
98 Hiroshima-shi 1959, p. 137.

conventional telling of the city's history. Tourism played a large role in this retelling of history. Both in prewar and postwar Hiroshima guides, maps and brochures produced for tourists have explained, interpreted, and have shown visitors the "right" way to view the site. With Japan's defeat, views of the castle and Hiroshima's relationship to war have completely changed and its past has been erased. As P. M. Clayburn accurately discerned, as early as 1965, the castle boom was driven by a very selective reading of recent history: "Now that the period between the Wars is temporarily in bad odor, national pride has focused on the late Tokugawa and early Meiji eras."[99] This effort to refocus national pride on Edo and Meiji was a multi-pronged endeavor with many actors on multiple fronts, not all of which were successful. In some cases, progressives were able to mount campaigns against efforts to rehabilitate the imperial past, which caused extensive debates (if not concrete results). These debates, though now largely forgotten, reveal the contentious nature of the project of castle reconstruction, and the degree to which it was entangled with the larger discussions surrounding reconstruction and identity in postwar Hiroshima and Japan as a whole. Indeed, castles might seem to be innocuous structures. With their focus on the distant Edo period and their romantic, cherry blossom-clad descriptions, they appear to be in Clayburn's phrase, "floating structures," outside of politics.[100] As this article has demonstrated, however, castles and the tourism industry which they benefit and contribute to were anything but detached from politics. On the contrary, the modern history of Hiroshima and other castles demonstrates the persistence of the influence of militarism and of the castles' former military role in the postwar era, as well as the tenacity with which contemporaries have sought to obscure this past.

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Selling the Naval Ports: Modern-Day Maizuru and Tourism[1]

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The four district naval bases (*chinjufu*) of the former Imperial Japanese Navy developed throughout the modern period into "naval cities" (*gunkō toshi*). These continue to function as bases for regional divisions of the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF), which today continues to utilize some former naval facilities. If we unravel the history of Japanese tourism to naval cities, there is evidence that the navy was used as a resource to shape tourist practices; naval tourism can therefore be said to have existed before World War II. In contemporary Japan, the navy and former naval bases continue to be utilized as tourism resources in various forms of contents tourism. Previous research about naval and naval base tourism has been limited because it tends to focus on short time periods. In order to understand the current nature of such tourism, however, we need to adopt a long-term perspective spanning the establishment of the bases to the present. This article looks at Maizuru, a city in northern Kyoto prefecture that has experienced the greatest tourist growth over recent years among Japan's naval cities. It traces changes in how the navy has been utilized as a tourism resource, as well as attitudes towards the navy, from the 1900s to the present. Through an analysis of guidebooks and postcards, it reveals how pre-World War II disarmament was a turning point in the emergence of the navy as a tourism resource. The article then identifies three distinct periods in Maizuru tourism in the postwar: a focus on war repatriates, the "discovery" of redbrick naval buildings, and the foregrounding of the navy. It argues that the Maizuru tourism industry only consciously utilized the navy from the latter half of the first decade of the twenty-first century. Further, it is argued that the shift towards heritage classification and development of contents tourism based on online gaming and anime can be understood as having emerged out of this context.

Keywords: naval city, navy, Maizuru, tourism, disarmament, heritage, exhibitions, repatriation, redbrick buildings, contents tourism

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Introduction

District naval bases (*Chinjufu* 鎮守府), the central institutions of the former Imperial Japanese Navy, were established at four locations within Japan: Yokusuka 横須賀, Kure 呉, Sasebo 佐世保, and Maizuru 舞鶴 (see figure 1). Following the construction of a base and naval ammunition factory (*kōshō* 工廠), each of these places experienced population growth and developed into cities. Although the end of the Asia-Pacific War led to widescale demilitarization, in which Japan renounced its army and navy, the establishment of the Self-Defense Forces in 1954 resulted in regional divisions of the Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF, Kaijō Jieitai 海上自衛隊) being deployed to all former district naval bases. As a result, each of these places continues to possess the characteristics of a naval city even today.[2]

Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez has revealed multiple historical and contemporary overlaps between Pacific tourism and U.S. militarism in Hawai'i.[3] In the case of Guam, another base for the U.S. military in the Pacific, Yamaguchi Makoto 山口誠 has demonstrated how the memory of Japanese occupation and war withered as the island grew in popularity as a destination for Japanese tourists.[4] Likewise, Hiroshima's history as a military city has been occluded by the touristic image developed in the postwar as an atomic city.[5]

As these studies reveal, tourism affects representations and memories of former military bases differently, dependent on a range of factors: whether or not it was a battleground; the war's outcome; and on postwar sociopolitical movements at the national and international level. While previous research has demonstrated how battlefield sites become tourism resources, military bases are typically treated as incidental or seen as part of an unmentionable past. This article attempts to fill this gap by examining how cities in Japan have exploited their history as naval bases, both in the past and the present, for tourism purposes.

One reason there has been little research about military base tourism is that researchers seldom look across prewar and postwar periods. As many bases were constructed before or during war, a trans-war, diachronic approach is needed to understand fully the historical and contemporary utilization of military bases by the tourism industry, and the significance of these bases within contemporary tourism generally.[6] With these points in mind, this article examines the changing relationships between tourism and "naval port cities" (*gunkō toshi* 軍港都市) from their construction as Imperial Navy cities through to the present day. The end of the Asia-Pacific War, and subsequent transformation in the position of the military, brought dramatic changes to these naval cities as well, but this naval history, and the later use of the ports by the JMSDF, continue to exert a powerful influence on their character. In this paper, I explore how naval port cities represent themselves, and how they have exploited the navy as a tourism resource.

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2 For more about the direction and findings of research about naval cities in Japan, see the following studies, all part of a series of historical research about naval cities (*Gunkōtoshi shi kenkyū* 軍港都市史研究): Kawanishi 2014; Kitazawa 2018; Ōmameuda 2017; Sakane 2010; Sakane 2016; Uesugi 2012b; Ueyama 2017.

3 Gonzalez 2013.

4 Yamaguchi 2007. For more on historical memory and amnesia, see Foote 2003.

5 See Ran Zwigenberg's article in this volume. Also, Fukuma, Yamaguchi, and Yoshimura 2012; Yoneyama 1999.

6 For research across the prewar and postwar divide on Hiroshima, see Zwigenberg's article in this special. Zwigenberg's article, however, finishes in the 1960s. Though Fukuma Yoshiaki's 福間良明 contribution to this special focuses primarily on the postwar, it does so until the 2010s.

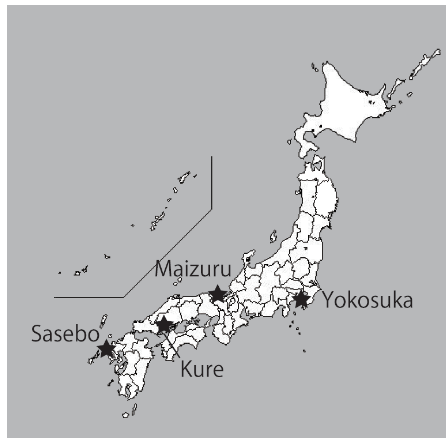

Figure 1. Location of naval cities. Produced by author.

Geographical and historical differences between Japan's four former Imperial Navy port cities make generalization difficult. For example, Yokosuka and Sasebo are home to U.S. military as well as JMSDF bases; Yokosuka's location in the Greater Tokyo Area makes it easily reachable for tourists from the capital; and a theme park makes Sasebo popular with leisure tourists.[7] Thus the relationship between tourism and the naval bases can be more clearly observed in Kure and Maizuru, as I have shown in previous research.[8] Looking at trans-war discussions of Kure, I explored how postwar city planners engaged with the city's naval history, especially through the emergence around 2005 of the Yamato Museum 大和ミュージアム, which directly draws on this history and has played an important role in attracting tourists. Yamamoto Rika 山本理佳, also, has discussed shifts in tourism and regional strategies in the Kure area following the establishment of the Yamato Museum.[9]

The greatest growth rate in tourist numbers in recent years has not been to Kure, however, but to Maizuru (see figure 2). Research about Maizuru is therefore essential to understanding recent trends in tourism to naval cities. I have previously discussed the history of Maizuru as a city of postwar repatriation, and the accrual of heritage value to the city's redbrick naval warehouses, but my focus was not tourism itself.[10] In addition, there has not yet been any detailed study of the city's prewar history. Therefore, this article focuses on Maizuru to understand better the city's history, naval tourism in Japan generally, and the wider relationships between tourism and military bases.

Maizuru is located in north Kyoto prefecture. In 2017, its population stood at 84,115. The city is divided into two districts: Nishi Maizuru 西舞鶴, a town that formed around Tanabe Castle (Tanabe-jō 田辺城) in the sixteenth century; and Higashi Maizuru 東舞鶴, or in the prewar, Shin Maizuru 新舞鶴 (New Maizuru), which developed out of the establishment of the district naval base in 1901. This paper will focus on the latter.

7 On the relationship between politics and modern heritage in Sasebo, see Yamamoto 2013.
8 Uesugi 2012a; Uesugi 2014.
9 Yamamoto 2015.
10 Uesugi 2010; Uesugi 2011.

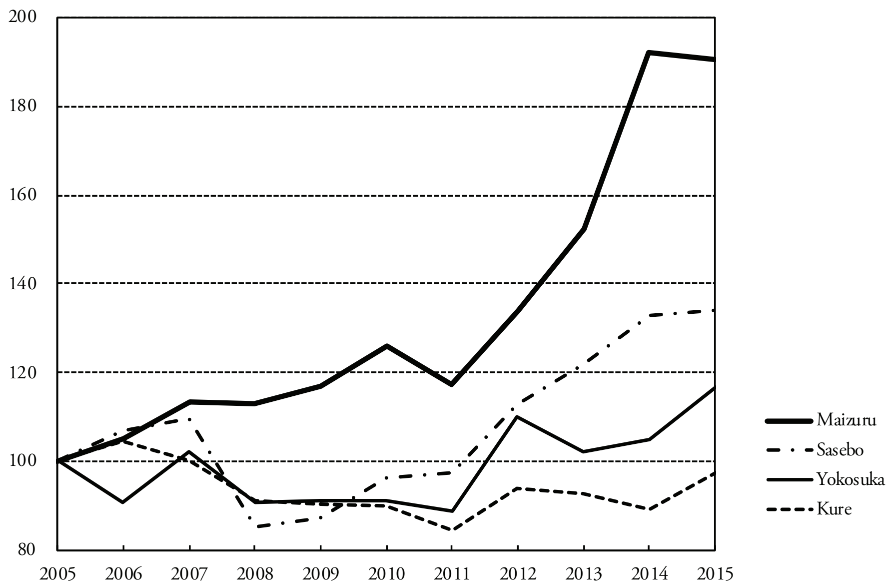

Figure 2. Relative change in tourist numbers since 2005 in Japan's four naval port cities (taking 2005 as 100). Kure-shi; Maizuru-shi; Sasebo-shi; Yokosuka-shi.

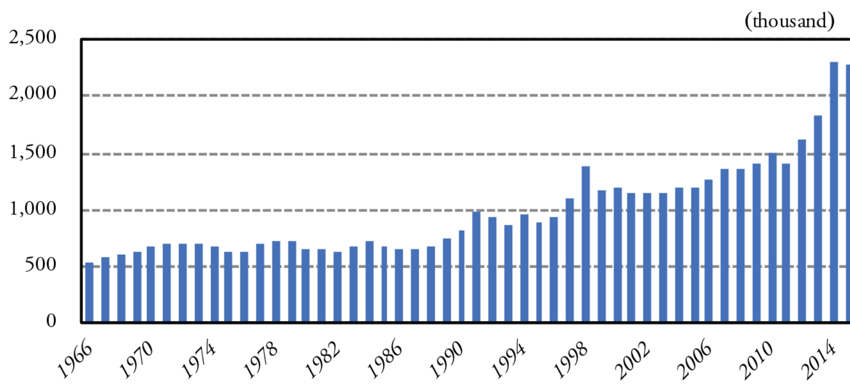

Figure 3. Visitors to Maizuru (1966–2015). Maizuru-shi.

Figure 3 shows fluctuations in the estimated number of tourists visiting Maizuru between 1966 and 2015. While earlier data is unavailable, it is unlikely that visitors from before this period greatly outnumbered those of 1966. The 1990s can be seen as a turning point at which visitor numbers consistently increased, eventually surpassing one million. The 2010s are also important in the city's tourism development, as the decade has seen another sudden increase in visitor numbers.

Before the War: Tourism and the Birth of a Naval City

Navy Port Construction and Early Tourism

Before its rapid urbanization after the establishment of the district base for the Imperial Navy, Shin Maizuru was a scattered collection of houses along a coastal road. The other three naval cities also developed from small villages.[11] Unlike cities that grew out of castle towns (*jōka machi* 城下町) or post towns (*shukuba machi* 宿場町), Japan's naval port cities were complete products of modernization.

As modern cities, naval cities have little premodern heritage or history to utilize for tourism. Located near East Maizuru is Matsuno'o-dera 松尾寺, a Buddhist temple popular from the middle ages as a stop on a thirty-three temple pilgrimage route. The only other temples or shrines are those visited by locals, and many of these were relocated or otherwise greatly affected by the base's construction.[12] *Shin Maizuru annaiki* 新舞鶴案内記, the first guidebook for the town, devotes a section to Matsuno'o-dera but recommends no other places of worship.[13]

There are two other points worth mentioning regarding the *Shin Maizuru annaiki*. First, in a chapter titled "Guide to the Maizuru Naval Port," it provides data on all the facilities and warships of the Maizuru fleet.[14] Clearly the navy believed this information was worth publicizing. Further, although stating that only workers and members of the military can usually enter the navy port, the guidebook describes the application procedure for entrance. It also explains that a guard (*eihei* 衛兵) of the Marine Corps (*kaiheidan* 海兵団) was available to guide "school students and other large groups for educational purposes," and that with the permission of the head of each facility, it was possible to observe the base's ammunition factories, Marine Corps, Submarine Corps (*suiraidan* 水雷団), navy hospital, and Petty Officer Graduation Assembly Hall (Kashikan Sotsu Shūkaijo 下士官卒集会所). Visitors to these facilities were prohibited from surveying, photographing, note-taking, and inspecting armaments, or exploring the lie of the land.

A second point relates to the guidebook's inclusion of two war monuments: a monument built in 1909 on Mt. Shimen 四面 to enshrine the war dead of the eastern Kasa 加佐 district; and a monument built in 1907 to enshrine sixteen members of Maizuru's Twenty-First Fleet who died in battle during the Russo-Japanese War.[15] Both monuments feature the calligraphy of Tōgō Heihachirō 東郷平八郎, the first Commander-in-Chief of the Maizuru District Naval Base and Combined Fleet (Rengō Kantai 連合艦

11 Uesugi 2012b.
12 Taoka 2016.
13 Takashiba 1911.
14 Takashiba 1911.
15 Takashiba 1911.

隊) during the Russo-Japanese War. The authors list these monuments under the famous historical sites section (*meishō kyūseki* 名勝旧跡), otherwise reserved for places of natural beauty or historical importance. *The guidebook* emphasizes the beauty of the surrounding environment, such as the view from the mountain and trees planted around the monument, and describes facilities built for visitors. It thus demonstrates how these memorials to the Maizuru war dead were developed as must-see attractions, integrated into prevailing tourist narratives, and utilized in the construction of regional identity.[16]

Arms Control and Exhibitions

> Armament reduction! Maizuru Naval Port Downturn!! This news came as a bolt from the blue for citizens of Shin Maizuru. All 20,000 of them were astonished, at one point turning pale in shock. However, they never forgot what they needed to do. Riding out the highs and lows, they deliberated calmly, and established industrial development as city policy.[17]

So began the *Shin Maizuru annai* 新舞鶴案内, a guidebook published for the 1923 Shin Maizuru exposition. This exhibition marked a new chapter in the city's history. At the 1922 Washington Naval Conference, the major naval powers agreed to reduce armaments. The Imperial Navy duly reduced the scale of Maizuru port drastically, demoting it from the status of district naval base to that of "important port" (*yōkōbu* 要港部). Anxious over Maizuru's economic future, city leaders and residents made efforts to transform Shin Maizuru into an industrial city.[18] Fortunately for them, Maizuru had become a transportation hub by this stage, through which train lines to Kyoto and the Japan Sea intersected. In addition, restrictions that had been strictly enforced while Maizuru was a district navy base were eased, enabling commercial vessels to enter the port.[19] With the aim of transforming the shape of the city, leaders, like the navy before them, made the most of Shin Maizuru's qualities as an outstanding natural port, and utilized the transportation network that initially had been formed due to the presence of the district naval base.

The 1923 Shin Maizuru exposition held between 1 April and 10 May to commemorate the opening of the Japan Sea coastal railway and Shin Maizuru port provided the city with an opportunity to publicize this new vision of Maizuru.[20] The exposition's first day was also the day that Maizuru officially changed status to that of "important port." In other words, the exposition marked Maizuru's shift from a naval to an industrial site. The exposition included approximately sixty-seven thousand exhibits from thirty-two Japanese prefectures, as well as from Korea, Taiwan, South Manchuria, and China.[21] The most popular attractions were naval exhibits and facilities within the navy base that were opened specifically for the occasion. Visitors could observe warships and weaponry in action, board

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16 For more on the role of war memorials in the formation of regional and national identities in modern Japan, see Motoyasu 2002; Shirakawa 2015.

17 Miyazaki 1922.

18 Sakane 2010.

19 Iizuka 2010.

20 The full title of the exposition is as follows: Ura Nihon Tetsudō Kaitsū, Shin Maizuru Tetsudō Kaitsū, Shin Maizuru Kaikō Kinen Hakurankai 裏日本鉄道開通・新舞鶴鉄道開通・新舞鶴開港記念博覧会.

21 Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai 1982, pp. 85–92.

Figure 4. One of an eight-postcard set for the Maizuru exposition. Titled "Eight-inch navy cannon installed in front of the second exhibition hall." Author's collection.

the warship *Azuma* 吾妻, ride a large 38-class submarine underwater, and watch a show featuring flying boats and mine detonations.[22] As shown in souvenir postcards (figure 4), the city used navy-related display pieces to promote the event. From the Meiji period through to prewar Showa, a multitude of different expositions were held all over Japan, but only an erstwhile naval city could stage an event of this type.

The 1923 exposition attracted 179,982 visitors over forty days and was strongly supported by the press. The official report states that, "Although naval facilities were the main attraction, the exposition would not have been as successful without the publicity generated with great kindness by the press."[23]

In similar ways, other expositions in naval cities also enjoyed the full support of the navy, as in the 1935 event held in Kure.[24] Backed additionally by the army, this later exposition aimed to mobilize citizens behind national defense in the wake of the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident and Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations. It also exhibited warships and submarines, and showed torpedoes being fired and exploding under water. In order to gain popular support as the nation plunged into a state of war, therefore, the military utilized a style of exposition first trialed more than ten years prior in Maizuru.

Selling a Landscape

Many prewar postcards of Maizuru also feature photographs of warships or the district naval base. One example is Maizuru Navy Port Postcards (*Maizuru gunkō ehagaki* 舞鶴軍港絵葉書), a set of twelve-postcards produced between 1918 and 1933 by the Imperial Military Promotion Society (Teikoku Gunji Fukyū Kai 帝国軍事普及会). They feature the base

22 Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai 1982, p. 91.
23 Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai 1982, p. 91.
24 Uesugi 2014; Takahashi 2016.

Figure 5. Postcard of "Maizuru district naval base." Author's collection.

(figure 5) and the Marine Corps headquarters and marines at training. The navy, which was composed not of conscripts but volunteers, published these postcards partly for recruitment purposes.

As seen in figure 6, postcards also depicted visitors boarding the warship *Azuma*. The cruiser *Azuma*, first deployed during the Russo-Japanese War, was used for practice drills at the time of the exposition. Reflecting tourist interest in warships, the caption describes a "group of visitors flooding" onto the vessel. The postcard is stamped, "Maizuru Important Port. Commemorating visit to warship *Azuma*," which indicates that it was purchased as a souvenir of its owner's visit. A postcard with the same commemorative stamp (figure 7) shows the items displayed on the *Azuma* during the exhibition: a range of artillery shells; the overcoat and short-sword worn by Fujii Kōichi 藤井較一 when he captained the ship during the Russo-Japanese War; a submarine's weaponry and periscope; and photos of an admiral's office. Postcards also depict junior high school students on *Azuma* learning how to operate a warship. Thus, the navy utilized postcards to promote the *Azuma* as a tourism resource, in order to glorify Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War and train future recruits.

Postcards also depicted the tourist sites of Shin Maizuru. "Shin Maizuru fūkei" 新舞鶴風景, an eight-postcard set, which passed navy screening on 10 July 1924, includes photographs of a city modernized through the support of the navy, as well as the images of the naval fleet entering the port (figure 8). Such images demonstrate the unique tourism resources of a naval port city.

Accompanying naval recruitment efforts, and the industrialization of the city following its demotion to the status of "important port," Shin Maizuru, a city of little immediate tourist appeal, began to attract tourists through its port, weaponry, and status as a naval city. Promotional postcards were produced at least until 1939, when Maizuru regained its status as district naval base, and these demonstrate interlinkages between the navy, the naval city, and tourism.

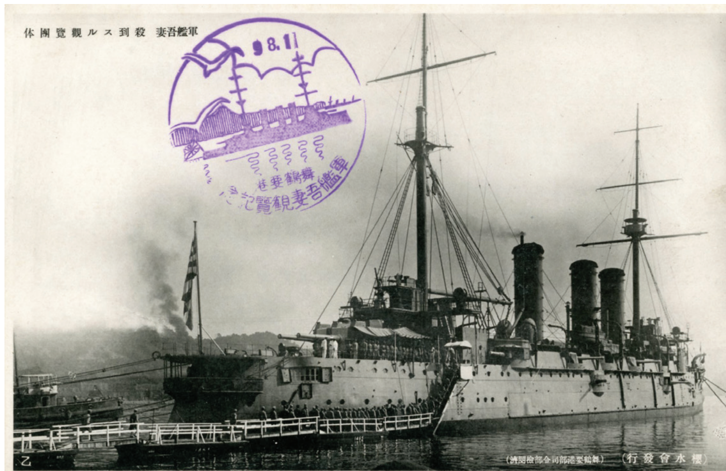

Figure 6. Postcard of “A group of visitors flooding onto warship *Azuma*.” Published by Ōsui Kai 桜水会. Author’s collection.

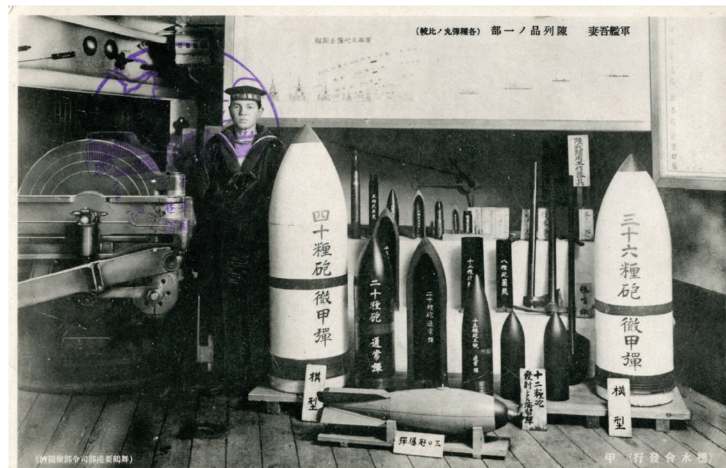

Figure 7. Postcard of “Warship *Azuma*. One part of the exhibit (a comparison of various artillery shells).” Published by Ōsui Kai. Author’s collection.

Figure 8. Postcard of “A View of the Arrival of a Naval Fleet into Maizuru Navy Port.” Author’s collection.

Kenneth Ruoff has revealed how tourism to sacred sites and battlefields in Korea and Manchuria prospered in the 1940s, concomitant with escalating nationalism.[25] As reflected in the production of postcards for Maizuru, however, which stopped with the outbreak of the Pacific War, tourism to Maizuru seems to have plummeted in the early 1940s. This reflects the city's return to a military economy: naval weapon factories reopened in 1936, and the port was restored to the status of district naval base. Another reason Maizuru did not continue to attract tourists is that it lacked sacred or battle sites that could mobilize citizens behind the military state.[26] Rather than perform as centers for nationalistic mass tourism, the role of Maizuru and other naval cities in fermenting patriotism was to produce loyal soldiers for the Imperial Navy.

Following defeat in the Asia-Pacific War, the Imperial Japanese Navy was dissolved. For a naval city, loss of the navy meant the loss of its very foundations. What tourism resources were available for Maizuru to draw on following the war? The answer to this question provides the central narrative for the rest of this paper.

The City of Repatriation: 1945–1980s

Imaging the Repatriation Port/Loss of its Landscape

After the war, Maizuru port and facilities were repurposed for the repatriation of Japanese returning from the former empire and battlefields. Initially, several ports served this role, but these were reduced as the number of returnees decreased. Maizuru—well situated for the many Japanese returning from internment in Siberia—remained a port of reentry for thirteen years following the war. From 1950 to 1958, it was the sole port of repatriation.[27]

During this thirteen-year period, 346 ships carrying a total of 655,583 repatriates entered Maizuru port.[28] Facilities for processing repatriates were initially located in former naval buildings scattered around Maizuru Bay, but eventually they converged in the Taira 平 area, where barracks and other former Imperial Navy facilities were located. Repatriates were transported from their ship onto Taira pier, then processed at the Taira buildings by the Repatriation Support Office (Hikiage Engo Kyoku 引揚援護局). Many repatriates came to locate powerful emotions and memories of "homeland" return in these structures. Maizuru also became a place to wait for returning family members. As news of the arrival of a repatriation ship spread, people from across Japan gathered in Maizuru to await the return of loved ones. While these visitors, as much as the repatriates, were not tourists, their experiences in Maizuru helped shape their memories of the city and gave motivation for later return trips. As seen in figure 3, Maizuru did not attract a great number of tourists in the four decades following the war. Still, feelings of nostalgia among repatriates, family members, and others regarding Maizuru prompted many to revisit.

With the steady increase in repatriate numbers, the memory of Maizuru as a military port receded, and a strong association between Maizuru and repatriation emerged. Products

25 Ruoff 2010.

26 Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai 1982; Yamagami 2010.

27 For more on recent research on postwar Japan through the experiences of repatriates interned in Siberia, see Barshay 2013 and Muminov 2017. On the influence of Soviet repatriates on Maizuru, see Maizuru-shi Shi Hensan Iinkai 1988, which states that disagreements at the government level and between repatriates over politics, perspectives, and treatment hindered repatriation management.

28 Maizuru Chihō Hikiage Engo Kyoku 1961.

of popular culture played an important role in this rewriting of collective memory, none more so than *Ganpeki no haha* 岸壁の母, a *kayōkyoku* 歌謡曲 pop song about a family that continued to revisit Maizuru in the hope of reuniting with a missing relative.[29] Kikuchi Akiko 菊池章子 released a version of the song in 1954 and performed it on NHK's popular New Year program *Kōhaku uta gassen* 紅白歌合戦 the following year. Many people felt sympathy for the grief-stricken family depicted in the song, and it eventually sold more than one million records.

In 1972, a new version of *Ganpeki no haha* by Futaba Yuriko 二葉百合子, rearranged in the *rōkyoku* 浪曲 genre of shamisen-accompanied narrative singing, became a massive hit, selling 2.5 million records.[30] This inspired a range of popular media that spread the image of Maizuru as city of repatriation, including a film adaptation of the song in 1976, and a television series in 1977. Futaba's version was released twenty-seven years after the end of the war, and fourteen years since Maizuru's role as repatriation port had ended. This song became a hit, then, at a time when most repatriates had regained stability in their lives and many had reached retirement, thus having more leisure time. The popularity of *Ganpeki no haha*, which made Maizuru increasingly central to their memories of repatriation, encouraged many repatriates to visit the city.

However, most of the buildings which repatriates hoped to visit in order to recall this past had been dismantled. A sixty-one-year-old retired man, whose "wish came true" when he revisited Maizuru in August 1987, wrote that, "I felt sad as nothing remains today, just a sign marking where the repatriation pier had been."[31] Another man who visited in September 1990 wrote that, "I was overcome with sorrow when I gazed down from the memorial park and saw that Taira pier—the first step onto the homeland for internees from Siberia—repatriates' housing, and other vestiges of this past had disappeared without a trace."[32]

The Taira pier and housing for repatriates were abandoned and had begun to deteriorate after the repatriation period. The City of Maizuru, as part of its policy of industrialization, cleared the expansive land that had accommodated repatriation-related buildings in 1967 for redevelopment into a complex of timber factories. At the time, the city did not consider conserving repatriation heritage; this was an era in which it prioritized industrial development.

Creation of Commemorative Spaces

Soon after the buildings associated with the repatriation were destroyed, however, the city began work on constructing a space of commemoration:

> Maizuru is developing each year as a port city of peace and industry. The former Repatriation Support Offices have been replaced by industrial facilities, and the last three office buildings used during repatriation were removed on 3 July 1969. Today, nothing is left to tell the truth of the repatriation and remind us of its past.

29 Uesugi 2010.
30 Osada 2002.
31 Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan 1994, p. 269.
32 Hikiage o Kinen Suru Maizuru Zenkoku Tomo no Kai 1998, p. 19.

Figure 9. Statue of Peace. Photo by author.

> On this occasion of the removal of the final building used by the Support Office, we construct in Maizuru—a city symbolizing for many repatriates their return to the homeland—the commemorative park and Statue of Peace […]

Inscribed on the base of the Statue of Peace erected in 1970 (figure 9) is this statement by the Maizuru mayor. It chronicles Maizuru's shift to industrialization, which was driven by the mayor himself, and the city's construction of a commemorative park and monuments to replace this lost heritage. The park is located on a nearby hill overlooking the timber factories that are situated on the site of the former Taira pier and repatriation offices. While this location has no direct relationship to the postwar return of Japanese, the park emerged as the center of repatriation memorialization, in which repatriate organizations planted trees, and placed stones and other commemorative markers.

The construction of the Repatriation Memorial Museum (Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan 舞鶴引揚記念館) was a particularly important turning point in this process of memorialization. Learning of repatriates' feelings of loss on visiting the city, Maizuru citizens appealed to the city government to build a replica of the Taira pier and host a national assembly for repatriates. This movement reached a peak in 1985, the fortieth anniversary of the beginning of the repatriation, and eventually prompted the city to convene a national assembly and construct a memorial museum within the park for the preservation of important documents. The museum opened in April 1988 with the goal of passing on "the historical facts of the tragedy of war and misery of the repatriates." It featured an exhibition with models of internment in Siberia and the course of repatriation.[33]

Visitor numbers to the museum gradually increased, and by the early 1990s had reached approximately 200,000 people a year. A replica of Taira pier was constructed in 1994; although in a different location and on a smaller scale than the original, it was warmly

33 Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan 2007, p. 1.

welcomed by repatriates. After revisiting the city in April 1995, the man quoted earlier who had visited Maizuru in 1990 wrote of being greatly moved by the replica of Taira pier: "It helped me recall what repatriation was like."[34]

While repatriates were satisfied by these new commemorative spaces, visitor numbers to the museum and related sites gradually diminished. As the generation of repatriates aged, there was decreased interest in repatriation-related sites and events, as well as the closure of repatriate organizations across Japan. At a ceremony to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the repatriation in 2005, a resolution was passed to dissolve Japan's national repatriate organization (Hikiage o Kinen Suru Maizuru, Zenkoku Tomo no Kai 引揚を記念する舞鶴・全国友の会); it had become impossible to continue running the organization due to the aging of members.

Memories of the repatriation began to wane as a result of generational change and the passage of time. Table 1 shows the number of Tokyo *Asahi* articles from 1945 to 2015 that have "Maizuru" in the headline, and the number of these that report on repatriation. Between the 1940s and 1950s, an equivalence formed between Maizuru and repatriation, so that almost all articles featuring Maizuru were about repatriation. In the forty-five years between 1960 and the sixtieth anniversary of the repatriation in 2005, the *Asahi* carried only four articles that linked Maizuru to repatriation. It did not cover the sixtieth anniversary.

Due to the aging of repatriates and the fading of memories, visitor numbers to the Repatriation Memorial Museum continued to decline. Three articles published in the Tokyo edition of the *Asahi* after 2014, however, did cover Maizuru and repatriation. These reflect a new shift in Maizuru's tourism that I will return to later.

Redbrick Scenery: 1990s–2000s

The "Discovery" of Redbrick Buildings

Beginning in the 1990s, modern heritage became recognized within Japan's official system for classifying cultural assets. Propelled by the Agency for Cultural Affairs' 1990 survey of Japan's modern heritage, interest in modern architecture and construction spread among the general populace, and began to be utilized in regional development projects.[35]

In this context, Maizuru began to develop new tourism resources. The unearthing of historical assets in Higashi Maizuru and Naka Maizuru 中舞鶴, two areas previously seen to lack touristic appeal, enabled new ways for the city to represent itself.[36] The most dramatic and symbolic of these new representations was the "discovery" of redbrick buildings. In March 1989, several city employees, considering how to develop the city, visited Yokohama, a city with trade-port roots. At the time, the City of Yokohama was planning to utilize its redbrick buildings in tourism through the development of a park precinct around bayside redbrick warehouses. Led by those who had visited Yokohama, the City of Maizuru then set about preserving and utilizing Maizuru's many redbrick buildings.[37] That December, a light-up event was conducted at a redbrick warehouse adjoining the city hall, a building that previously had gone largely unappreciated—either historically or aesthetically—by

34 Hikiage o Kinen Suru Maizuru Zenkoku Tomo no Kai 1998, p. 19.

35 Kitagawa and Goto 2007.

36 For more on the relationship between the discovery of heritage and the formation of regional identity, see Ashworth and Larkham 1994.

37 Baba et al. 2000.

Table 1. Reporting of Maizuru and repatriation in the Tokyo *Asahi shinbun*.

Time period	Articles with "Maizuru" in title	Of these, articles on repatriation.
1945–1949	16	16
1950–1954	51	51
1955–1959	42	42
1960–1964	14	1
1965–1969	9	0
1970–1974	11	0
1975–1979	6	0
1980–1984	4	1
1985–1989	2	1
1990–1995	14	1
1996–2000	9	0
2001–2005	19	0
2006–2010	30	0
2011–2015	16	3

locals. This event both literally and figuratively illuminated a new approach to the area's rejuvenation.[38]

City officials identified many redbrick buildings within Maizuru, most of which were former facilities of the Imperial Navy. The discovery in 1990 of a rare Hoffman kiln was especially influential in attracting national attention and further arousing local interest in redbrick architecture. Following this, the city saved from demolition a long-abandoned former torpedo warehouse located near the city hall. In 1991, they designated it a city cultural asset, and two years later reopened it as the Maizuru World Brick Museum (Akarenga Hakubutsukan 赤れんが博物館) (figure 10).

A citizens' group for research into and preservation of the city's redbrick architecture was soon established. Similar organizations had emerged in Yokohama and other parts of Japan, and they now formed a national network for sharing information and spreading interest in the value of this architectural style. They held an inaugural symposium in Maizuru in 1990 which attracted more than two hundred people from nineteen cities across Japan. Maizuru mayor, Machii Masato 町井正登, told delegates that:

38 Uesugi 2011.

Figure 10. Museum entrance. Courtesy of the Maizuru World Brick Museum.

> Until now, redbrick buildings were considered a hindrance to the city's development; however, this is a mistake. Seeing people from so many different cities visiting the redbrick buildings of Maizuru has made me realize that these are actually precious assets. From now on I would like to put these redbrick buildings to good use.[39]

Transformation of the meaning of buildings—from hindrance to asset—became a key tactic in municipal development and tourism strategy plans from the 1990s through to the 2000s. In 1994, the former torpedo warehouse was developed into the Maizuru City Commemoration Hall, the Hoffman kiln was registered as a national cultural heritage site in 1997, and a group of seven brick warehouses were registered as important national cultural assets in 2008.

Baba Hideo 馬場英男 and other leaders of the preservation movement explained that appreciation for redbrick architecture increased so dramatically over this short period because, "Locals wanted to replace the gloomy 'repatriation' image of their city with the impression of a warm 'city of redbrick.'"[40] With the gloomy grey "city of repatriation" replaced by the warm red "city of redbrick," color played an important symbolic role in this transformation.

What, however, does this "warm image" signify? Unlike Yokohama and Otaru, cities with trade origins that also utilized their redbrick architecture in tourism, Maizuru is a former base of the Imperial Navy. Should former naval buildings or ammunition factories be assigned a warm and positive image? This question aside, Maizuru was able to market itself in this way by borrowing from the redbrick branding techniques of these commercial cities. The City of Maizuru did not promote its redbrick buildings as unique, therefore, but affiliated them with a nationwide sentiment associating redbrick with warmth, romance, and nostalgia.[41] It appears that city and preservation organization leaders did not deliberately

39 Baba et al. 2000, p. 42.
40 Baba et al. 2000, p. 49.
41 Uesugi 2011.

or explicitly link these buildings to Maizuru's naval past. Indeed, contemporary public hearings about this issue suggest that those involved were largely unaware of Imperial Navy associations. For many Maizuru citizens, the relationship between the group of redbrick buildings and the Imperial Navy was self-evident; for some residents, these buildings were an obstacle to redevelopment and should be demolished. It is precisely for this reason that Maizuru's "discovery" of redbrick buildings via trade ports such as Yokohama, and their reevaluation by city leaders and residents, marks such an important turning point in how Maizuru related to its naval past through tourism.

Augmented Images

More than one hundred redbrick buildings have been identified in Maizuru. However, the central place for the touristic reimagination of Maizuru consists of a group of brick warehouses near the city hall, featuring the World Brick Museum and City Commemoration Hall. As the city worked to preserve and repurpose these buildings, it also began planning several events around them. The first of these was the Redbrick Summer Jazz Festival (figure 11). This featured Yamashita Yōsuke 山下洋輔 in its inaugural year in 1991, and it has hosted world-renowned artists like Kenny Burrell and Jackie McLean, and has grown to become one of the best-known jazz festivals in Japan.

Those involved in the preservation of Maizuru's redbrick buildings came up with the idea of a jazz festival from a personal interest in jazz. This may have been because bricks reminded them of jazz or because they associated the American navy with jazz. However, there are no historical links between jazz and Maizuru's naval history or its redbrick buildings. In this sense, jazz events did not emerge organically in Maizuru, but were consciously added as a supplement to the city's brand image. The jazz festival foregrounded the city's redbrick architecture, and demonstrated its efficacy as a stage for such newly fabricated events.

The Redbrick Festival in Maizuru (*Akarenga fesuta in Maizuru* 赤れんがフェスタin舞鶴), which began in 1995, is another touristic event held in the same redbrick setting. Cuisine, one of the three themes of the festival, illustrates best the relationship between the navy and tourism in Maizuru at the time. In 1988, a television show announced that *niku jaga* 肉じゃが, a fixture of modern Japanese cuisine, had been discovered in an Imperial Navy cookbook.[42] Aware that the recipe book was located in Maizuru, from 1995 local residents began promoting the city as the "birthplace" of *niku jaga*. Held in the same year, the first Redbrick Festival featured a sub-event on *niku jaga*.[43] Members of the festival's executive committee dressed up in costumes reminiscent of the navy, with its chairman performing as first Commander-in-Chief of the Maizuru District Naval Base and hero of the Imperial Navy, Tōgō Heihachirō.

Two years later, Kure administrators asserted that Tōgō had been in Kure before he ever went to Maizuru, and began promoting their city as the birthplace of *niku jaga*. Subsequent discussions between the municipalities led to the establishment of so-called "navy cuisine" (*kaigun gurume* 海軍グルメ) as an effective new tourism resource for naval cities. Following this, Yokusuka, Kure, Sasebo, and Maizuru each "discovered" links to the origins of curry, hamburgers, beef stew, and other forms of navy cuisine, and utilized them

42 Takamori 2006.
43 Maizuru Nikujaga Matsuri Jikkō Iinkai.

Figure 11. Redbrick Summer Jazz Festival. Courtesy of NPO MCA.

in tourism promotion. From 1999, the four former naval cities began exchanging ideas on naval cuisine at inter-city meetings.

As Maizuru's redbrick building precinct became an established venue for jazz and cuisine-related events, the Imperial Navy reemerged as a central element of tourism in the city. As the navy was a taboo topic in Maizuru, however, the board of tourism made little direct reference to it in tourism promotion in the 1990s. In interviews that I conducted between October 2010 and February 2011, Iba Setsuko 伊庭節子, a volunteer guide and member of a Maizuru citizen's organization that promotes *niku jaga*, reported her initial discomfort at Kure's use of the term "navy" in its "navy man's (*kaigunsan no* 海軍さんの) *niku jaga*" campaign. Thus, even though Maizuru promoted itself as the birthplace of *niku jaga*, there was an unspoken understanding in the 1990s that the word "navy" should be avoided. However, following Yokusuka's launching of its "navy curry" marketing campaign, and through discussion with other navy cities, Maizuru began its own promotion of navy cuisine. Discussing later tourism to Maizuru in her interview, Iba acknowledged that interest in the navy and demand for navy-related tours had grown in the latter part of the first decade of the twenty-first century, and she no longer felt discomfort in referring to things as "navy-related."

Throughout the 1990s and into the start of the new century, therefore, explicit reference to the navy remained taboo in Maizuru's tourism marketing even while the city projected an image of romance and nostalgia centered on the city's redbrick architecture, jazz, and *niku jaga*. However, the successful promotion of these jazz and navy-food related events gradually helped weaken this taboo.

A Navy-Related City

Tourism Branding

With the announcement of a new tourism campaign in 2008, Maizuru began to develop and market a new city brand centered around redbrick and the sea/port. A tourism poster

Figure 12. Maizuru Tourism Association poster (2009). Courtesy of the City of Maizuru.

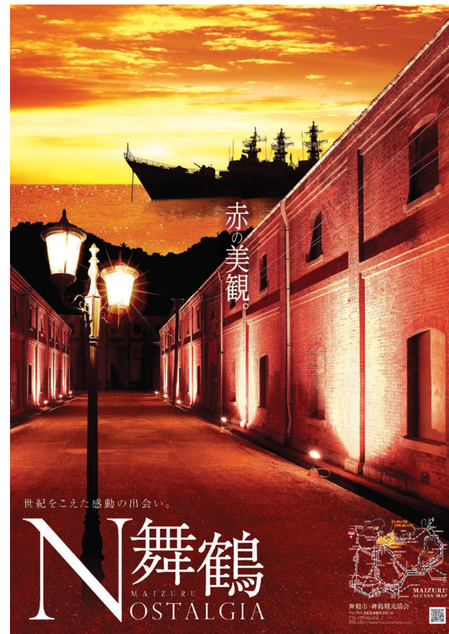

Figure 13. Maizuru Tourism Association poster (2010). Courtesy of the City of Maizuru.

released in January 2009 effectively linked these two motifs using color-coded catchphrases: "Historical Red: The Throb of One-hundred Years"; "Romantic Blue: Emotion Surpassing a Century" (figure 12).

The following year, individual posters for each color were released in addition to the dual-colored version. "The Beauty of Red" poster features the word "Nostalgia" in English; in the foreground is a large image of brick buildings, and in the background the silhouette of a JMSDF ship on a red sea that reflects the sunset (figure 13). Seen through the "Historical Red" concept of its tourism marketing campaign, the contours of this ship cannot help but evoke the form of an Imperial Navy warship. Compared to tourism promotion of the 1990s, in which the navy was a taboo subject, this reference is relatively explicit. As Tsutsui Kazunobu 筒井一伸 points out, here the navy and JMSDF are utilized as a tourism resource and incorporated into city branding.[44]

Perhaps the first overt use of the navy in postwar Maizuru tourism, however, was in 2008, when a business with strong connections to the Maizuru Tourism Association began offering a navy-related bay cruise. The cruise, which continues today, departs from a pier adjacent to the Brick Museum, travels through the sites of the former Imperial district naval base and ammunition factories, and provides a close-up view of JMSDF ships docked at the Kitasui 北吸 pier (figure 14). Onboard volunteer guides who explain sights such as the shipyard and escort ships are members of the Maizuru Suikō Kai 舞鶴水交会, an association of former JMSDF personnel. The cruise business began around the same time that the

44 Tsutsui 2010.

Figure 14. Photo used to promote the Maizuru Bay Pleasure Boat Tour. Courtesy of Maizuru Tourism Association.

cultural value of the city's redbrick buildings became established. In 2007, a building adjacent to the City Commemoration Hall was redeveloped as the Maizuru Chiegura まいづる智恵蔵, or "Wisdom Warehouse." Then in 2008, the warehouses of the former district naval base were nationally designated as Important Cultural Properties, providing additional impetus for preservation efforts.

Tourist numbers increased from about 1,202,000 in 2005 to 2,290,000 in 2015 (see figure 3). This increase reflects the temporary suspension of road tolls in 2010, and the opening of a direct highway from Kyoto in 2015, but also demonstrates the success of the redbrick and sea/port tourism campaign. The establishment in 2012 of Brick Park (舞鶴赤れんがパーク), which incorporated Maizuru's central redbrick warehouses, was especially effective in crystalizing the red and blue color symbolism at the core of this tourism campaign. Brick Park provided the central stage for the 2012 Sea Festival (*umi festa* 海フェスタ), a series of events, promoted across Japan, held in Maizuru and the northern Kyoto prefectural region on Marine Day, a national holiday in July. This popular festival, which linked the red of Brick Park and the blue of the sea as part of the larger tourism campaign, helped enhance Maizuru's national standing.

Heritagizing "Red" and "Blue"

Maizuru has engaged with two new categories of heritage in recent years: Japan Heritage (*Nihon isan* 日本遺産) and UNESCO's Memory of the World. The registration of Maizuru's heritage with these two institutions reflects how contemporary Maizuru relates to its naval past and utilizes it for tourism.

Japan Heritage are sites recognized by the Agency for Cultural Affairs that "tell the story of Japan's culture and tradition through the historical attractions and characteristics

of regions."[45] In parallel with the other three former Imperial Navy cities, the facilities, documents, and scenery relating to Maizuru's modernization were designated as Japan Heritage in 2016.[46] The website of the Agency for Cultural Affairs explains that:

> There was an urgent need in the Meiji period for Japan to strengthen its coastal defense forces to compete as a modern state with Western powers. In response, the nation chose four outstanding natural harbors to develop into naval ports. In formerly quiet farming and fishing villages they immediately gathered personnel and cutting-edge technology and constructed naval institutions, waterways, railways, and other infrastructure. This gave birth to four naval port cities that furthered Japan's modernization. With many facilities still in use after more than one hundred years, these naval cities that maintain the dynamism of times past are somehow nostalgic and powerful (*dokoka natsukashiku mo takumashiku* どこか懐かしくも逞しく) and continue to attract visitors.[47]

This description makes clear both the context in which the naval cities were established, and the fact that many vestiges of modernization remain there today. The "nostalgia" mentioned here is likely that for redbrick, while "powerful" refers to the size of the naval bases and ammunition factory buildings, the labor employed there, and most of all, the navy itself. Tellingly, however, the focus of this narrative is on the birth of the naval cities, while the subsequent development of the cities, and the Imperial Navy that once called them home, are not touched upon. Where the navy went during war, what type of combat they performed, the extent to which the port cities were bombed, and other such information remains out of view. The "nostalgic and powerful" feelings inspired by "dynamism of times past" are references to wartime navy battles, or perhaps to cityscapes born through the process of persistent modernization.

Japan Heritage is highly conscious of the tourism industry, and the narrative it employs about the navy cities illustrates several key points regarding tourism/war relations in Japan. First, it is difficult to speak directly about modern wars through tourism narratives. For example, sites of premodern domestic wars have been developed as tourist attractions, and castle towns that formed around castles and once contained garrisons—such as World Heritage-listed Himeji Castle—have become centers of tourism throughout Japan. Hiroshima, another World Heritage site, draws on its atomic-bomb history and postwar reconstruction as a city of peace to attract tourists, but this narrative conceals its prewar and wartime role as a central army base, a military city.[48] Likewise, the heritage narrative of the four naval cities also involves an erasure of war.

Second, the way in which heritage narratives relate to military histories differs greatly between cities such as Hiroshima and the naval cities. Unlike these, the description of naval cities provided by Japan Heritage directly references documents, batteries, ports, and other buildings attesting to its military past. The contemporary naval city—Maizuru included—locates its identity in confronting its naval history, not in turning away from it. However,

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45 Agency for Cultural Affairs.
46 Kyūgunkōshi Nihon Isan Katsuyō Suishin Kyōgikai 2017.
47 Agency for Cultural Affairs.
48 Fukuma 2011; Yamaguchi 2012; see Zwigenberg's article in this special issue.

Figure 15. *Shirakaba nisshi* journal (author's photo). Registered with Memory of the World. Courtesy of Maizuru Repatriation Memorial Museum.

these cities do not draw on war itself as a tourism resource, but on the history of the Imperial Navy from which the cities originated.

In 2015, the Maizuru Repatriation Archive (Maizuru e no seikan 1945–1956 Shiberia yokuryū tō Nihonjin no hongoku e no hikiage no kioku 舞鶴への生還1945–1956シベリア抑留等日本人の本国への引き揚げの記録) was registered as part of UNESCO's Memory of the World.[49] It consists of 570 documents regarding internment in Siberia and repatriation, including the journal, *Shirakaba nisshi* 白樺日誌 (figure 15), chosen from a total of some 16,000 preserved at the Repatriation Memorial Museum.[50] The museum describes these as records of "precious experiences that became a cornerstone of Japanese people's hopes for a world without war," and as important memories of war that must be conveyed to subsequent generations.[51] The description on the UNESCO website reads:

> When the Japanese Empire collapsed due to defeat in World War II in 1945, an estimated 600,000 to 800,000 Japanese military personnel and civilians were interned in labour camps in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The Maizuru Repatriation Memorial Museum has a unique and extensive collection of materials related to the internment and the survivors' repatriation from 1945 to 1956.[52]

49 Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan.
50 This includes the diary *Shirakaba nisshi* 白樺日誌 (figure 15), which both in its description of the daily life of internees, and the use of white birch bark for paper and soot as ink, is a testament to the harsh conditions of internment in Siberia that many repatriates overcame.
51 Maizuru Hikiage Kinenkan.
52 UNESCO.

As the generation of post-repatriation Japanese aged, visitors to Maizuru's museum became fewer and the repatriation receded from the collective memory. In the first half of the 2010s, visitor numbers to the museum shrank to less than half of the two-hundred thousand recorded at its peak in the early 1990s. After taking over the management of the museum in 2012, the city began the process of petitioning for Memory of the World registration as one way to transmit knowledge about the repatriation. They also reformed the permanent exhibition, added a new seminar room, and started renovating the museum. Media coverage of the UNESCO registration and improvements to the museum stimulated renewed interest in the repatriation, and this has prompted an increase in visitor numbers over recent years. This process of heritagization, therefore, demonstrates how cities can successfully utilize the heritage recognition provided by national and international institutions—here Japan Heritage and UNESCO—in their tourism promotion strategy.

Cool Japan and the Navy

Finally, I would like to discuss the recent growth of electronic gaming and anime-inspired contents tourism in Maizuru. This tourism is part of the popularity of *Kantai korekushon* 艦隊これくしょん (War fleet collection; abbreviated as *Kankore*), a browser game in which players lead fleets of *kanmusu* 艦娘 (warship girls)—warships personified as cute, young, female characters (*moe kyara* 萌えキャラ)—through war. This browser game was launched in in 2013, and according to the official website has more than 4.3 million registered users as of April 2017. Through its development into manga, anime, and film, *Kankore* has spread to an even wider audience. *Kankore*, therefore, is a quintessential product of the Cool Japan culture the Japanese government has attempted to promote internationally.

Through the browser game, players become highly familiar not only with the names of warships, but also of district bases and other locations connected to the Imperial Navy. There is a manga series too, and it also uses the names of the four former district naval bases, further blurring the lines between a virtual, fictional world and reality. Similar to the pilgrimage to sacred sites often seen in contents tourism, there is currently a movement among *Kankore* fans to visit the naval cities.[53] In the 2018 edition of a list of eighty-eight "sacred sites" of anime, for example, Maizuru was chosen to represent *Kankore*.[54] Another reason for the touristic appeal of these cities is that, as home to the district bases of the JMSDF and their fleets, they also allow people to see actual naval vessels. Evidently, interest in warships of the former Imperial Navy through their *kanmusu* personifications, and in the former naval ports as locations featured in *Kankore*, is closely tied to the practices of Maizuru tourism today.

A group of residents began to promote Maizuru actively to *Kankore* fans and overtly tie *Kankore* to Maizuru tourism. In February 2014, they brought a comic market for fanzines (*dōjinshi* 同人誌) of *Kankore* to the city. This market has since been held roughly twice a year, and, according to Maizuru-based NPO MCA, attracted eight thousand visitors in July 2016.

Importantly, the comic market is held in the complex of former Imperial Navy redbrick buildings. Stalls sell food such as *niku jaga*-style croquette, and a *kaisen* 海鮮 bowl

53 Okamoto 2015. For more on navy-related contents tourism in Japan, see Philip Seaton's article in this volume.
54 Anime Tourism Association.

Figure 16. *Kankore* fans at the Maizuru fanzine market. Courtesy of NPO MCA.

of rice topped with fish that, in a play of words, uses characters meaning “naval battle” (*kaisen* 海戦). This results in multiple layers of “contents tourism”: content from *Kankore* online games and anime inspires visitors to dress as *kanmusu*, who walk around redbrick buildings that mark the city’s naval history, and eat naval-content food. Through integrating differing forms of contents tourism that share a naval narrative, the comic market has led to the creation and consumption of a new form of Maizuru tourism.

While *Kankore* has provided new material for Maizuru tourism in the 2010s, it differs greatly from the jazz tourism of the 1990s. Planners of the jazz festival did not directly link jazz with the navy, but simply designed an event where visitors could listen to jazz in the surroundings of Maizuru’s redbrick buildings. In contrast, *Kankore* draws heavily on the actual names of the Maizuru Imperial Navy base and warships, and the comic market uses the redbrick buildings not as spaces of romance and nostalgia, but as naval relics. In other words, while it utilized its naval heritage cautiously in the 1990s, Maizuru is now actively using the navy to market a new tourism image of the city, of which *Kankore* is a centerpiece.

Conclusion

This paper has examined transformations in Maizuru’s tourism and promotion strategy from the founding of the district naval base in 1901 until the present day. As a largely modern city, Shin Maizuru only had modern, navy-related attractions and little premodern heritage to draw upon before the Pacific War. Fearing the city would decline due to its demotion from district naval base to “important port” in 1923, the City of Maizuru hosted a navy-supported exhibition whose primary attraction was Imperial Navy warships. The city utilized the navy as a tourism resource in other ways, as demonstrated in postcards that feature naval facilities.

Maizuru’s postwar tourism strategy can be divided into three periods: first, that of repatriation; second, that of the discovery and marketing of redbrick buildings; third, that

of promoting a brand based on redbrick buildings and the sea/port. In each period, Maizuru tried to represent itself in ways that would attract tourists while responding to shifting sociopolitical contexts. The gradual change in this self-representation across the postwar period reveals a mnemonic process in which Maizuru re-remembered its own naval history. Its self-promotion as a navy-related city, which seems so natural today, is a phenomenon that emerged only in the twenty-first century, after the city felt able to give expression to its naval past following its "discovery" of redbrick buildings and *niku jaga*. Social change has also been important: over the seventy years since the end of World War II the Imperial Navy and modern wars involving Japan have slid from recent memory into history.

As the emergence of naval cuisine and the construction of the Yamato Museum in Kure demonstrate, similar trends can be observed in the other former naval cities. These cities share the same strategy of developing a unique regional brand by drawing on a naval past. However, as this paper has shown, such branding has not been entirely uniform across the cities, and further comparative research is needed.

I would like to conclude with a comment on the future of Maizuru tourism. Clues to this may lie in the recent heritagization of sites, and the development of contents tourism around *Kankore*. It is also possible that these modern forms of tourism could be coupled with premodern attractions such as Tanabe Castle and Matsunoo-dera. Whatever happens, it is likely that Maizuru will continue to be a barometer not only of the relationship between tourism and the navy, but also between tourism and war more generally in contemporary Japan.

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The Construction of *Tokkō* Memorial Sites in Chiran and the Politics of "Risk-Free" Memories

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This paper takes a historical sociological approach to exploring the construction of war-related tourism sites in Chiran, a town famous as the "home" of the *tokkō* (or kamikaze) pilots. Today, despite poor access to the town, many tourists visit its *tokkō*-focused Peace Museum and Tokkō temple (Tokkō Heiwa Kannon-dō). In the early postwar period, however, Chiran did not present itself as a *tokkō* town. While locals have come to embrace an identity tied to the *tokkō*, those who died in the *tokkō* operations carried out from Chiran were not local residents, but rather pilots from throughout Japan. When did Chiran emerge as a home of *tokkō*, and in what social context? Through exploring these questions, this paper analyzes the historical processes involved in the construction of war memorial sites in postwar Japan.

Keywords: *tokkō* images, war memories, Chiran, media, veteran associations, locality, de-historization, war dead memorialization, replicas, borrowed memories

Introduction

Chiran 知覧 (now part of Minamikyūshū 南九州) in Kagoshima prefecture used to have an army base from which *tokkō* 特攻 missions were launched.[1] Currently, the town is a popular war-related tourist site. Its primary attraction, the Chiran Peace Museum (Tokkō Heiwa Kaikan 特攻平和会館), which exhibits farewell notes and mementos left by *tokkō* pilots, can attract over 600,000 visitors a year.[2] While visitor numbers are much lower than the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (1.74 million visitors in 2016), a site with much better access, they are roughly equivalent to the Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum (680,000 visitors in 2016), which has long attracted school excursion groups, the Himeyuri Peace Museum (Himeyuri Heiwa Kinen Shiryōkan ひめゆり平和祈念資料館, 580,000 visitors in

1 While typically called "kamikaze" in English, in this paper the term "*tokkō*," the more neutral term common in Japan, is used. "*Tokkō*" is an abbreviation of Tokubetsu Kōgekitai 特別攻撃隊 (or Tokkō-tai 特攻隊), meaning "special attack unit." The term "*tokkō*" refers to both pilots in this unit, and to the unit itself.

2 In 2016, the year of the Kumamoto earthquakes, visitors to the museum numbered less than 400,000. The average number of annual visitors for the three previous years was about 526,000. Data based on Chiran Peace Museum 2012, and a telephone interview with the city's Tourism Section on 17 August 2018.

2016) in Okinawa prefecture and the National Showa Memorial Museum (Shōwakan 昭和館, 350,000 visitors in 2016) in Tokyo.

Chiran has neither prominent sightseeing spots within or close to the town, nor good access. It takes about ninety minutes to reach Chiran from Kagoshima by car, and the only means of public transportation there is bus. Aside from Himeyuri, the other peace museums mentioned above are located in cities and are easily accessible. Considering this, the number of visitors to the Chiran Peace Museum is remarkable, and demonstrates Chiran's reputation as home of the *tokkō*.

In the early postwar period, however, Chiran was not a center of *tokkō*-related tourism. At the start of the Pacific War, Chiran was transformed from a major center of tea production with the establishment of an army air base. After the war, the town was soon "demobilized" and returned to the tea and potato fields of the past. In 1955, at the suggestion of former senior ranking members of the Imperial Japanese Army's air force division, Tokkō Heiwa Kannon-dō 特攻平和観音堂 (hereafter Tokkō Kannon) was erected to mourn *tokkō* pilots killed in action. The local community, however, was not unified in support of the temple, and attention was not drawn to its memorial services in town newsletters.

Tokkō missions were not a direct part of the war experiences of local Chiran citizens. The Battle of Okinawa and atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in contrast, were central to residents' war experiences. While Chiran was a base, it was not Chiran citizens, but pilots gathered from around Japan that carried out *tokkō* missions. Why and when were the experiences of people from outside Chiran borrowed and incorporated within the war memories of local citizens?

Needless to say, the presence of the base precipitated connections between the local community and *tokkō* operations during the war. Middle school and women's high school students were often mobilized for labor services at the base, and *tokkō* unit members often spent their free time at nearby restaurants. Nevertheless, rather than narrating their own personal experiences of the war, such as being mobilized for labor services, the stories of local residents overwhelmingly focus on accounts heard from pilots about their missions. Further, locals do not tend to emphasize their own experiences of interacting with the pilots, but pilots' experiences and feelings as (ostensibly) told directly to them. In this sense, the war memories articulated by citizens in Chiran are distinct from the narratives of people living in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Okinawa, and Tokyo, which focus on their own personal experiences.

Local wartime memories in Chiran have never been homogenous, however. In recent years, the City of Minamikyūshū has been working towards registering a collection of *tokkō* pilots' farewell notes with UNESCO's Memory of the World. In support of this, the city attempted to conclude a friendship agreement with Oświęcim, the Polish town close to the site of the Auschwitz concentration camp, intending to make a shared appeal for peace. Due to strong objections from the bereaved, however, the attempt was abandoned. Regardless of whether this decision was appropriate, the example demonstrates conflict between city administrators and surviving relatives over memories of the *tokkō*. What other discords have emerged over memories of the pilots during Chiran's development as a "*tokkō* town"? And how have these emerged, and been dealt with, in war-related tourism?

Keeping these questions in mind, this paper examines the processes by which Chiran was constructed as a *tokkō* memorial site, and the distortions of memories that have concomitantly occurred. In so doing, the paper aims to shed light on the politics of

war-related tourism in Japan today by comparing the development of war memorial sites in Chiran with those of Hiroshima and Okinawa.

There are few historical and empirical studies of how war-related destinations, and war-related tourism, have developed in postwar Japan, or of how this process has affected people's ability or failure to pass on experiences of war to younger generations. There has been considerable research, however, in religious studies, cultural anthropology, and geography into local memories of war at battle sites and memorialization practices for the war dead. These studies tend to focus on how the significance of mourning has changed within local communities.[3] Also, postcolonial or historical approaches have looked at war memorial sites and the politics of memory in postwar Japan.[4]

These studies, however, have failed to address important questions about social and historical change at war-related sites. For example, how has the meaning of Japan's major war sites shifted after their "rediscovery" in the postwar? What are the spatial processes by which places of memory emerge and develop? Yamaguchi Makoto's 山口誠 study of Guam provides insights here.[5] His research explores how pleasure tourism and war-related tourist sites have developed through complex interactions between the media, local communities, and international relations. In previous research, I have compared Hiroshima, Okinawa, and Chiran to examine relationships between the media and local communities in the postwar development of war-related sites in Japan.[6] War-related sites develop not only through their connection with local communities and ceremonies for the war dead, but also in interaction with media and images from popular culture, which they (re-)import and incorporate. The aim here is to reveal the historical processes and social mechanisms behind the establishment and transformation of war-related sites.

To address these questions, this paper examines the historical development of sites related to war in postwar Chiran. Findings about Chiran can illustrate trends in Japan more widely as the town has emerged as a principal center of war-related tourism. Chiran also demonstrates the significance, and complexity, of war memory. As in other countries, in Japan the role of conveying memories of war to younger generations has increasingly been taken over by the "postmemory" generation of those without war experience. What memories will be favored in the future, and how will this selection be influenced by social-political contexts? The distinctive aspect of borrowed or, more precisely, "other people's memories"—in this case, of the *tokkō*—found in Chiran can provide important clues to addressing such questions.[7]

Previous studies, including by this author, have examined the development of war-related sites in Chiran.[8] This paper first clarifies and extends these findings by examining the social and media background behind the "discovery" of *tokkō* sites, and developments since the 1990s. Second, it discusses continuities and discontinuities in war-related tourism

3 See Nishimura 2006; Uesugi 2009.

4 For example, Eades and Cooper 2013; Osa 2013; Yoneyama 1999.

5 Yamaguchi 2007.

6 Fukuma 2015b. The current paper is both an extension of this study, and of Yamaguchi's argument regarding Guam.

7 For research on *tokkō*-related tourism in Chiran from multiple perspectives, see Fukuma and Yamaguchi 2015. For international studies of the relationships between war-related sites and tourism, see Butler and Suntikul 2013. For research on *tokkō*-related contents tourism in English, see Seaton 2018.

8 Fukuma 2015a; Fukuma 2015b.

in Chiran by comparing the period between the late 1960s and early 1980s—when veterans' associations and a media-led boom in war accounts led to the discovery of war-related sites—to tourism in Chiran today, in which school excursion groups and tourists are the primary visitors. The paper mainly focuses on the periods from the early postwar to the mid-1970s and from the 1990s onward. This is because, while important for the founding of the Chiran Peace Museum, there was little change in local memories of *tokkō* from the mid-1970s to 1980s. However, as will be explained later, there were major changes from the 1990s, when visits by veterans taking part in memorial services began to rapidly decline.

Forgetting the *Tokkō*

Burial of the Tokkō Base

The Chiran Branch of the Tachiarai 太刀洗 Army Flight School opened in March 1942. Located on the southern end of the Satsuma peninsula, this facility was the southernmost army air force base in Japan. Partly because of its location, the base saw many *tokkō* aircraft making sorties during the Battle of Okinawa. Of the 1,036 *tokkō* pilots killed in the Battle of Okinawa, over 40% (439 pilots) departed from Chiran or relay bases on Tokunoshima 徳之島 and Kikaijima 喜界島 islands. In fact, in the final years of the Pacific War, Chiran became the primary *tokkō* base.[9]

As mentioned above, however, it was not local citizens in Chiran but army pilots from around Japan who went on *tokkō* attacks. Many local citizens were certainly mobilized for labor services, but their main experiences of the war were working at the base and hastily escaping air raids. In fact, the relationship between Chiran and the *tokkō* base was not harmonious even during the war. In anticipation of an invigorated local economy and new jobs, some senior members of the Chiran government were certainly enthusiastic about the army base, even though it meant damage to tea production. At the time, Chiran was a leading tea production center; tea grown in Chiran won national awards in 1934, and locally produced black tea was offered to the emperor in 1938. The Kisanukibaru 木佐貫原 area of Chiran, where the air base was constructed, had originally been a prefecture-run plantation assigned by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry to test black teas. The construction of the base caused tea fields and related facilities to be relocated or abandoned.[10] The Imperial Army, however, offered surprisingly low purchase prices to the plantation owners. Some of the affected people commented retrospectively: "All six of us—my parents, three children, and grandmother—had only a cow, with no electricity, water, kitchen, or hearth, and only an adjacent house to shelter us from rainfall"; and "Our cultivated land was so infertile that it produced only less than half the crops of other households. Even if it produced a poor crop, we had to contribute all the crop to the government, instead of consuming it for ourselves."[11] From the viewpoint of those engaged in tea production, the major prewar industry of Chiran, the construction of the base was actually a threat to their livelihoods.

It was natural, therefore, that the base's facilities were removed soon after the war ended. The office building and barracks on the base site were dismantled and used in the reconstruction of houses burned down in air raids. The base site itself was returned to tea

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9 Chiran Tokkō Irei Kenshōkai 2014.
10 Chiran-chō Kyōdoshi Hensan Iinkai 1982, p. 96.
11 Setoguchi 1993, p. 250.

and potato fields, and in 1952 the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry established a tea seed production farm on part of the site.

The postwar treatment of the Chiran air base contrasts sharply with that of other war-related tourist destinations. Elsewhere, the ruins of war-devastated structures—including the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotional Hall (Atomic Bomb Dome), and the trench used for the Third Surgery Department of the Army Hospital (Himeyuri Memorial)—remain as tangible proof of war, and are central to these area's war-related tourism. The equivalent structures in Chiran, meanwhile, were removed. Chiran was "mobilized" during the war, then rapidly "demobilized" to its previous state. In this process, the ruins that could have demonstrated the existence of the *tokkō* were buried under tea fields.[12]

This process was not unique to Chiran, however. Postwar reconstruction and the repatriation of demobilized soldiers led people across Japan to rapidly replace former military facilities and war-devastated buildings with fields and houses. In early postwar Hiroshima, for example, there was even a move to utilize national funds to remove the ruins of the Atomic Bomb Dome.[13] In this sense, it is unsurprising that Chiran's war-related ruins no longer exist.

Prioritizing Local War Dead over Tokkō

As the case of Tokkō Kannon demonstrates, the *tokkō* were not entirely forgotten in the early postwar. Tokkō Kannon temple was erected on 28 September 1955 in Kisanukibaru, the same area as the former *tokkō* base. Former Army General Kawabe Masakazu 河辺正三 (Air General Army Commander during the final days of the Pacific War), former Army Lieutenant General Sugawara Michiō 菅原道大 (Commander of the 6th Air Force), former 6th Air Force Staff Officer Hamu Keitarō 羽牟慶太郎, and others proposed the construction of the temple to mourn the *tokkō* unit members who were killed in the war.

Tokkō Kannon was erected not long after the Treaty of San Francisco came into force in 1952. The Occupation generally suppressed nationalistic discourse that could lead to praise of the former imperial military. After the Occupation, however, reactionary discourses emerged, including criticism of the Occupation army and Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, and nostalgia for the former military. Many monuments to dead loyal soldiers were constructed throughout Japan. The project to build Tokkō Kannon was planned and implemented within this social context.

There was no consensus in Chiran, however, about Tokkō Kannon. A local newspaper at that time reported that Hamu Keitarō, who was in charge of the administrative work for construction, began approaching influential people in and around Chiran town after becoming "determined to erect Tokkō Kannon, even without anyone's support, to console the spirits of young soldiers who had died a heroic death and to help ensure that this tragedy was never repeated."[14] However, it also reported that, "Coldhearted citizens, who blamed the military for the defeat, did not listen carefully to his proposal. Although locals with influence understood his intention, many of them refused to cooperate with the project because of the current social situation." In the early postwar, therefore, memories of the *tokkō* were not unified.

12 For a comparison of the processes of war memorial site establishment in Hiroshima, Okinawa, and Chiran, see Fukuma 2015b.

13 Fukuma 2015b. See also Zwigenberg in this special issue.

14 *Shin Kagoshima* 1956.

Only ten years had passed since Japan's defeat, and while some glorified the military soon after the Occupation, many others remained very skeptical about war. These conflicting discourses are reflected in the publishing and movie industry of the time. In 1952, former students of the Air Force Reserve edited and published *Kumo nagaruru hate ni* 雲ながるる果てに a posthumous collection of *tokkō* pilot writings. This was aimed at focusing on the "calmer and purer feelings" of those who had "died a glorious death," and implicitly criticized *Kike wadatsumi no koe* きけわだつみのこえ (1949), an antiwar collection of writings by students killed in the Asia-Pacific War. Some people criticized *Kumo nagaruru hate ni*, as well as the movie version released in 1953, with comments like, "I wonder whether it is appropriate to praise the *tokkō* so hastily now."[15] Because they were released within a decade of the war's end, people were still suspicious about narratives, images, and places that glorified it. Local resistance to the plan to construct Tokkō Kannon in Chiran reflected a similar concern.

Further, the relationship between Chiran's Gokoku Jinja 護国神社—a Shinto shrine dedicated to local war dead—and Tokkō Kannon suggests that local war dead were given preference over the *tokkō* in the early postwar period. Chiran's Gokoku Jinja was constructed in the prewar near the town's center, but partly due to land development for municipal housing, was relocated in 1959 next to Tokkō Kannon. This does not mean that *tokkō* began to be memorialized alongside local war dead, however. As the majority of Chiran's war dead were noncommissioned army officers and lower-ranked soldiers, it was natural that their memorial shrine was relocated to the site of the former air base, Chiran's only army facility. On the way to the site from the prefectural road, a stone marker reads: "Approach to Gokoku Jinja, Chiran." Although Gokoku Jinja was relocated to this area after the construction of Tokkō Kannon, this inscription implies that the area was viewed as a place dedicated to local war dead, rather than the *tokkō.*

There was an annual joint memorial service at Gokoku Jinja and Tokkō Kannon, and the choice of date reflects the position of the *tokkō* in the local consciouness. After the relocation of Gokoku Jinja, a joint memorial service for the war dead began at the two places. It took place on July 28, the established date for memorial services at Gokoku Jinja. If priority had been given to *tokkō*, 28 September, the date Tokkō Kannon was established in 1955, might have been more appropriate.[16] It is clear enough that Chiran residents prioritized Gokoku Jinja over Tokkō Kannon, and that *tokkō* were not emblematic of local citizens' memories of the war at this time.

Discovery of a "*Tokkō* Town"

"Tokkō Manjū"

The status of the *tokkō* began to change over the following decade. From the late 1960s, coverage of the joint memorial service in *Chōhō Chiran* 町報ちらん, a local newsletter, not only began to give greater coverage to the event but also to mention *tokkō* more frequently.[17] The August 1966 issue of the newsletter carried an article titled "Summer Festival at Gokoku Jinja and Tokkō Kannon," which reported that, "About 300 people, including

15 Fukuma 2007, p. 49.
16 Chiran Tokkō Irei Kenshōkai 2014.
17 Fukuma 2015a.

Shibata Shin'ya 柴田信也 from Tokyo, a former *tokkō* unit member, and members of the Town Association for Surviving Families of War Dead, attended the festival to pray for the souls of 1,115 *tokkō* unit members who died a noble death in the sky." This article demonstrates that local citizens paid tribute to, and expressed their affinity with, dead *tokkō* pilots.

In this period, a rapidly growing number of members of veteran associations began to visit the Chiran memorial service, including those of the Shōhikai 少飛会 (Association of Former Juvenile Army Aviators) and the Tokusōkai 特操会 (Association of Former Special Army Probationary Pilots). Although the memorial service in 1964 was attended only by Kawabe Masakazu, Sugawara Michiō, and twelve former juvenile aviators from Kagoshima prefecture, the memorial service in 1969 was attended by over one hundred former juvenile aviators. The town newsletter provided the memorial service with extensive coverage almost every year, reporting that former *tokkō* unit members sang "nostalgic war songs," and a Japan Ground Self-Defense Force Band performed *Umi yukaba* 海ゆかば (lit. "If I go away to sea").[18]

These facts indicate that Tokkō Kannon was emerging as a war-related tourist site. Tokkō Kannon and the former site of the air base were "rediscovered" as destinations for war-related pilgrimage through visits by veterans attending memorial services. Probably because of this, a *Mainichi gurafu* 毎日グラフ special issue on the history of war in Japan included photos from Chiran of signboards advertising *Tokkō manjū* 特攻饅頭 sweet buns and *Heiwa Kannon senbei* 平和観音せんべい rice crackers in a series of war-related photos (figure 1).[19] Souvenirs, media coverage, and rising interest in Tokkō Kannon and the site of the former base indicate that *tokkō* had developed into a symbol of Chiran.

Borrowing Others' Memories

The media played an important role in the development of Chiran as a *tokkō*-related tourist destination. The mid-1960s saw a boom in war-related books and films in general. Books such as Agawa Hiroyuki's 阿川弘之 *Yamamoto Isoroku* 山本五十六 (1965) and *Ā dōki no sakura* あゝ同期の桜 (1966), edited by an association of former students of the Air Force Reserve, were bestsellers. *Japan's Longest Day* (*Nihon no ichiban nagai hi* 日本のいちばん長い日), which depicted the Kyūjō Incident 宮城事件, a failed coup by young army officers opposed to Japan's acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration and the broadcast of the emperor's announcement of surrender, was the second most popular Japanese movie of 1967. Many *tokkō*-themed movies were also produced, including a particularly high-profile trilogy released by Toei in 1968, which began with a cinematization of *Ā dōki no sakura*.[20]

Media coverage focused specifically on Chiran played a significant role in the growing public recognition of Chiran as a "*tokkō* town." In 1964, Takagi Toshirō 高木俊朗, a former member of the Army News Footage unit who had previously stayed in Chiran, started publishing a series of articles titled "Chiran" in the weekly magazine *Shūkan Asahi* 週刊朝日. These articles, which sympathetically described the anguish and suffering of *tokkō* unit members, were compiled into *Tokkō kichi Chiran* 特攻基地知覧 (*Tokkō* Base Chiran,

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18 *Chōhō Chiran* 9.1964; *Chōhō Chiran* 8.1969; Nogami 1969, p. 26.
19 Mainichi Shibunsha 1965.
20 For a discussion of the reception of *tokkō*-themed movies (and linkage with the *yakuza* movie boom of the late 1960s), see Fukuma 2007.

Figure 1. Photo of a signboard advertising *Tokkō manjū* and *Heiwa Kannon senbei*. Mainichi Shinbunsha 1965. Courtesy of *Mainichi gurafu*.

hereafter *Chiran*), a book that went through multiple reprints. Prior to the publication of this series, in August 1961, NHK broadcast a dramatized documentary titled *Izoku* 遺族 (The Bereaved), scripted by Yamada Yōji 山田洋次, based on writings about Chiran by Takagi.

Veterans also played an important role in the growing interest in Chiran. Veterans became particularly active in the 1960s, and the number of new veterans associations reached a second postwar peak.[21] At a time when the generation gap between those with and without war experience appeared to be widening, veterans sought a place to converse with each other about the war.[22] Many veteran association leaders were at the peak of their careers, and had gained significant social influence. Visits by veteran associations, therefore, became increasingly important to the identity of Chiran.

Chiran citizens came to internalize the image of Chiran created by the national media and visitors to the town. The signboards advertising *Tokkō manjū* and *Heiwa Kannon senbei* mentioned previously indicate that visitors expected Chiran to be a *tokkō*-related destination, and that locals played a role in fulfilling these expectations. In 1974, voluntary members of the local youth association built a full-scale model of a fighter plane, and placed it near the entrance to Tokkō Kannon. *Konpaku no kiroku* 魂魄の記録, a publication edited by a Chiran-based organization for memorializing the *tokkō*, carries an image of tourists taking photos in front of the model fighter (figure 2). Chiran thus took on a *tokkō* identity, performing the role of a *tokkō* town to satisfy the expectations of tourists and the media.

21 Takahashi 1983; Yoshida 2011.
22 Fukuma 2009.

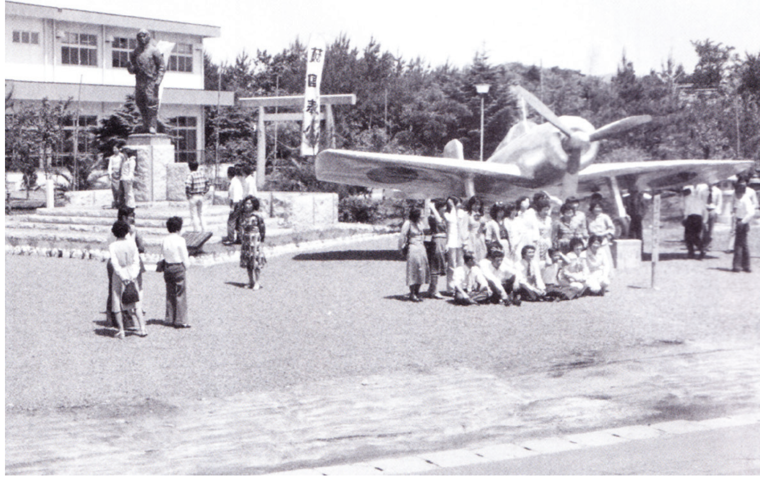

Figure 2. Display of a model fighter (ca. 1975). Courtesy of the Chiran Tokkō Irei Kenshōkai.

Such developments were not unique to Chiran, however. In U.S.-occupied Okinawa in the 1960s, campaigns for the reversion of the islands to Japan spread alongside a rapid influx in mainland tourists. Such campaigns partly aimed to build support among mainland Japanese. Visiting veteran and bereaved associations led a surge in the construction of war monuments. In particular, such associations built monuments for the war dead from prefectures across Japan in Mabuni 摩文仁, which developed into a major war-related tourist destination. Partly because Okinawans wanted to gain mainland Japanese support for reversion, however, the history of the Japanese military's violence against Okinawans—including forcing local people to fight and commit mass suicide—was left unresolved, reinforcing the perception of Okinawans as having fought bravely alongside Japanese.[23]

In 1966, around the same time as the above developments in Chiran and Okinawa, the City of Hiroshima decided to preserve the Atomic Bomb Dome. The many memoirs of A-bomb survivors published as part of the 1960s boom in war-related books stimulated interest in the city's experience of the bomb. Although the dome was on the verge of collapse, the national media advocated its preservation with the support of well-known intellectuals such as Yukawa Hideki 湯川秀樹. This helped convince the City of Hiroshima to preserve rather than demolish the building, and position it as a major tourist attraction. According to newspaper reports, in the early postwar period many people argued that the dome "stands like an eerie haunted mansion in the heart of Hiroshima" and should be "removed as soon as possible."[24] However, such voices were effectively drowned out. Thus, not only in Chiran but in other parts of Japan, local citizens and governments were influenced by media trends and visitor expectations—especially those of veterans and the bereaved—in working to develop war-related sites into tourist destinations.

23 Fukuma 2015b.
24 *Yūkan Chūgoku shinbun* 1950. See Fukuma 2015b.

Nevertheless, Chiran was unique among these cases in that others' experiences of the war were redefined as local. Okinawans directly experienced ground combat, and citizens of Hiroshima the atomic bomb attack. Yet it was not Chiran citizens but army pilots mobilized from around Japan who carried out *tokkō* attacks. Chiran's search for a source of self-identity in the *tokkō* thus required local people to turn other people's experiences into their own.

The internalization of others' experiences is demonstrated in the program of a town sports day held in November 1974, which featured a costumed play in which local youth association members reproduced a *tokkō* attack. The town newsletter published photos not only of young men playing *tokkō* pilots departing on a mission, but young women as school students sending off an aircraft (figure 3).[25] An almost full-scale model fighter was also produced for the meet, with an engine installed to move the propeller. As mentioned above, the model fighter was later put on display for tourists. This *tokkō* performance touched the audience. One woman shared her impressions in a Chiran Women's Association newsletter:

> A youth, who like all youth today is not even supposed to know how to salute, gave a convincing performance as a commander ordering *tokkō* pilots to attack, […] saying to each of them, "Do your best," or "See you again at Yasukuni Jinja." […] I was unable to stop the tears from running down my cheeks.[26]

There is something peculiar about this *tokkō* play. It would seem unlikely for local people in Hiroshima or Okinawa to perform a costumed play about their war experience at a local sports day. But for some reason, such events were possible in Chiran. *Tokkō* featured prominently here even though they were not necessarily part of local war experiences. Neighborhood gatherings like this are generally exclusive to local citizens, and not intended for the entertainment of visitors from outside the area. Thus, the play demonstrates how people of Chiran shared their "memories" of *tokkō* with each other at an event for local enjoyment.

The above play was modeled after a photo taken in Chiran in March 1945 (figure 4), which became well-known after it was published in a November 1965 special issue of *Mainichi gurafu* on the Japanese history of the war.[27] As seen in the tears shed by the woman watching the reenactment of a *tokkō* mission at a town sports day, national perceptions associating Chiran with the *tokkō* had become thoroughly internalized at the local level.

Depopulation and "Discovery" of the Tokkō

Chiran's choice of *tokkō* tourism was a product of social circumstances. In the 1960s, Japan went through a period of high economic growth that accelerated population outflows from provincial to urban areas. Consequently, many rural villages such as Chiran began to suffer from depopulation. Moreover, tariff reductions on black tea imports put Chiran's tea production into decline. Chiran utilized the *tokkō*, therefore, in order to develop this aspect of its history into a tourist resource to invigorate the town. The front page of the June 1970 issue of *Chōhō Chiran* featured an article titled, "Town Designated as Depopulated Area:

25 *Chōhō Chiran* 9.1974.
26 Orita 1975, p. 29.
27 Mainichi Shinbunsha 1965.

Figure 3. *Tokkō* costume performance at a Chiran sports day. *Chōhō Chiran* 1974. Courtesy of *Chōhō Chiran*.

Figure 4. Chiran Women's High School students sending off *tokkō* unit members. Photo taken in March 1945 and included in Mainichi Shinbunsha 1965. Courtesy of *Mainichi gurafu*.

Emergency Countermeasures Being Planned," alongside an article on a "Tokkō Kannon Summer Festival."[28] This combination of articles shows how the problem of depopulation was inextricably linked with the local internalization of *tokkō* memories.

The connection between depopulation and *tokkō* tourism is also demonstrated in Chiran's growing reliance on the *tokkō* from the 1970s. In 1975, Chiran opened the Tokkō Ihin Kan 特攻遺品館, a museum exhibiting *tokkō* mementos and farewell notes, displaying out front the warplane replica mentioned earlier. In 1989, the museum was expanded into the Chiran Peace Museum, cementing its central position in Chiran's *tokkō* tourism.

The focus of Chiran's tourism on the exhibition of replicas developed out of a lack of significant war-related structures. Although some facilities remained, such as a water tower and ammunition depot, they could not demonstrate what the *tokkō* base had looked like during the war. Unlike Hiroshima and Okinawa, Chiran had no large-scale buildings or other physical remains of the war. Chiran's museum certainly exhibited authentic items left by *tokkō* pilots killed during the war, but replicas such as the warplane were also central. In 1980, a Zero fighter was displayed at the Tokkō Ihin Kan. This plane was salvaged from the sea west of the Satsuma peninsula after sinking there in the final days of the Asia-Pacific War. However, as Zero fighters were naval aircraft, this plane would not have flown from Chiran, a base ran by the army. As a result, there was no reason for this Zero fighter to be displayed in Chiran's museum. In that sense, this Zero was another kind of "replica."

Historically, *Tokkō* were commonly associated with naval aircraft such as the Zero. As explained earlier, collections of writings left by *tokkō* unit members became bestsellers in the late 1960s, and were adapted into extremely successful movies. However, these works dealt with naval rather than army *tokkō* unit members. This was part of a "navy boom" that emerged, to some extent, from widespread ideas comparing the "barbarous" and "irrational" army and "smart" and "rational" navy, that focused especially on their approach to the United States in the buildup to the Pacific War.[29] Another reason for the use of the Zero was its positive image as a Japanese fighter plane, especially its incredible agility, seen as giving pilots an important advantage in dogfights against U.S. forces early in the war. Chiran paid the huge costs of salvaging the Zero, and put it on display, therefore, partly because of these public perceptions. It was not an "authentic" army *tokkō* fighter closely related to Chiran, however, but just a naval fighter that served as a substitute, or "replica," for such army aircraft. This example suggests Chiran's relative indifference toward historical facts and authenticity in tourism.

One benefit of "replicas" is that they gave Chiran significant control over tourist representations.[30] "Authentic" objects and ruins would have included elements superfluous to the town's needs. In addition, exploring and transporting authentic objects would have required significant financial and human costs. In contrast, replicas could be created to conform with the desired self-image. As the Zero fighter was salvaged from a spot relatively near to Chiran, it was not a replica in the strict sense. However, appropriation of the fighter enabled Chiran to utilize widespread associations tying together the *tokkō*, the Zero, and the navy. Rather than being a handicap, the lack of authentic objects and wartime remains was

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28 *Chōhō Chiran* 6.1970.

29 Although these impressions differed from the actual history, among some they inspired admiration for the navy and criticism for the army, and even the war in general. See Yoshida 1995.

30 For more on this argument, see Yamaguchi 2015.

an opportunity for Chiran to represent itself by borrowing the image that visitors had of the town.

"Replicas" have also played an important role in other war memorial sites in Japan. The Atomic Bomb Dome is a case in point. The dome has not been left unctouched. Preservation work conducted in 1967 corrected slanting walls and pillars, and filled wall cracks with strong adhesive. The city removed trash and moss, planted roadside trees, and constructed a fountain in the surrounding area. Today, the Dome site is laid with a beautiful lawn. Although debris from the A-bomb attack was placed there, it is neatly arranged, and not mixed with trash, human bones, or blood. Such presentation may make tourists feel comfortable, but the Dome and surrounding area look completely different today from the horrific, chaotic, ruined site that it was just after the atomic bomb detonated. In this sense, the Atomic Bomb Dome was "renovated" to conform with the expectations of tourists, and so is distinctly different from the original ruins of the devastated building, making it also a kind of "replica." In 1970, Matsumoto Hiroshi 松元寛, an English-literature scholar at Hiroshima University, made a suggestive remark about the preservation works:

> When the repairs on the Atomic Bomb Dome were planned, I agreed with the aim and offered minor cooperation. However, when the repair work was finished, and the completed dome reappeared in front of us, I remember that I suddenly felt I might have made a mistake. State-of-the-art chemicals were used for reinforcement and to prevent it from further weathering. But it seemed to me that the dome suddenly lost its life at the same time as the weathering was stopped.
>
> Essentially, the repairs have changed it into a completely different dome. It lost its meaning as physical evidence of our experience on 6 August 1945, and changed into something equivalent to the many monuments built after the war. I wondered if the weathering had been accelerated rather than stopped [...][31]

As a result of repairs, that is, artificial intervention, the Atomic Bomb Dome "suddenly lost its life" and became "a completely different dome." Although it looked as if "the weathering" were stopped, it was actually accelerated. However, people did not notice this. The preservation work transformed the Dome into a state that was ideal for some, but also into a kind of "replica." Together with its neatly-arranged surroundings, the new Dome helped represent a less confronting past to tourists, and masked the grisly ruins of the atomic bomb. The process in which a "replica" is foregrounded while something from the past is concealed, therefore, is not just found in Chiran but in other war-related sites too. Chiran, however, offers a powerful, and conspicuous, embodiment of this relationship between "replica" and the past.

Mechanisms of Forgetting

While the profile of *tokkō* in Chiran increased, that of the Gokoku Jinja decreased. As mentioned above, Tokkō Kannon's memorial service corresponded with that of Gokoku Jinja, but from 1970 onward, Tokkō Kannon's memorial service was held on 28 May, two months earlier than previously. The date was supposedly changed at the request of

31 Matsumoto 1970.

veteran and bereaved associations so that they could avoid the peak of the hot southern-Kyushu summer. In 1974, the date was again changed for the convenience of attendees, to fall within a period of consecutive holidays on 3 May.[32] Gokoku Jinja and Tokkō Kannon thus began to hold separate memorial services. These date changes demonstrate how the convenience of veterans and the bereaved was increasingly prioritized. It also reconfirms Chiran's sensitivity to, and tendency to internalize, external perspectives. Lastly, it indicates the declining status of Gokoku Jinja, a point also demonstrated by the fact that, following the date change to 3 May, *Chōhō Chiran* stopped reporting Gokoku Jinja's memorial service while continuing to feature that at Tokkō Kannon.

In accordance with this, there was a shift in the conventional naming practices of the route to these shrines. Although from a period some years after that under discussion in this section, the municipal publication *Chiran: Inishie no toki ga himotokareru* ちらん: いにしえの時が繙かれる (lit. "Chiran: Our History Unravelled"; 1987) includes a photograph of the stone marker announcing the approach to the shrines; its caption reads "Approach to Tokkō Kannon."[33] Thus, contradicting the actual inscription on the stone marker itself, the road formerly recognized as the entrance to Gokoku Jinja was now being viewed as the road to Tokkō Kannon.

This process of recreating "local war memories" led to the forgetting of other memories and experiences. The *Chōhō Chiran* had often carried stories about war experiences in places like New Guinea, or about the collection of war dead remains from abroad, but this stopped around the end of the 1960s. The contrast with the increased coverage of Tokkō Kannon's memorial services indicates that, while the profile of *tokkō* "memories" increased, the presence of local peoples' experiences of the war rapidly receded. For example, locals rarely recalled their past passion for fighting the war. A December 1938 edition of *Chiran Chōhō* carried a report by a female student overjoyed at the Capture of Wuhan by the Japanese forces, that reads:

> "Capture of Wuhan"—How pleasing the term sounds! […] When the Ministry of War announced it, we couldn't help but shout "*banzai!*" […] We marched in a grand procession with flags in hand the next day. I saw fireworks exploding and people waving flags, and I heard war songs and cheers come from within the fluttering flags. It seemed that our small town was filled with national flags that day.[34]

This passage provides a vivid description of Chiran citizens' excitement at the "fruits of battle" won by Japanese forces deployed in mainland China. Such scenes were not unique to Chiran, but found throughout Japan. A quarter of a century after World War II ended, this wartime excitement felt by people in Chiran—and across Japan—had become obscured, I argue, by Japanese people's postwar immersion in a catharsis of grief about the *tokkō*.

Incidentally, the report above was by a student from what became Chiran Women's High School. Students at this school were often mobilized for labor services at the army air base, and sent off *tokkō* pilots on their missions. As mentioned earlier, a photo of one such scene became well-known from the mid-1960s, and inspired a local *tokkō* costume play.

32 Chiran Tokkō Irei Kenshōkai 2014.
33 Chiran-chō 1987.
34 Nanba 1938.

These students were full of joy at the Japanese forces' invasion of mainland China during the second Sino-Japanese War. Their experiences, however, are today clouded by postwar "memories" of the *tokkō*.

Dehistoricized Memories

The above can be read as a kind of dehistoricization of Chiran's memories of war. That is, the replacement of local memories by others has devalued local citizens' own war experiences, and resulted in the loss of local histories of war. Furthermore, such tendencies have sidelined the context and wider history of the *tokkō* and war in general. In a prospectus published to request support for the construction of a bronze statue of a *tokkō* pilot and the Tokkō Ihin Kan Museum in Chiran, Kagoshima prefecture Governor Kanemaru Saburō 金丸三郎 stated the following:

> The *tokkō* heroically carried out unfailing suicide attacks, unprecedented in the history of world war. *Tokkō* planes waited to make their attacks with the rising sun clearly on their wings, and a deadly bomb in the fuselage. Their tanks had only sufficient fuel for a one-way flight to dive upon the enemy. With a gallant headband with the slogan, *shichishō hōkoku* 七生報国 ("Serving my country for seven lives"), pilots held the control stick filled with passion to sink an enemy ship and help the country to victory. With great determination, they looked sublime and absolutely pure, like demoniac guardians of the country.[35]

Chiran, increasingly dependent on "memories" of the *tokkō*, promoted the construction of new attractions.[36] It is likely, therefore, that the perspective of the *tokkō* reflected in this passage was not only held by the prefectural governor, but was also widespread in official discourse about the *tokkō* in Chiran. Moreover, given that those to whom the prefecture and town distributed the prospectus to request donations included many surviving families of dead *tokkō* pilots and members of veterans associations, it can be supposed that such discourse was not uncommon at Tokkō Kannon's memorial services. Speakers who chose to use this discourse wished to honor the "beauty" of individual *tokkō* unit members' "sentiment of self-sacrifice for their country."

This way of seeing *tokkō*, however, occludes the military's systemic violence, and the process by which this category of "beauty" had been officially imposed on Japanese people. During the war, violence permeated the Japanese military and forced soldiers to "volunteer" to take part in *tokkō* attacks, even though they were not strategically successful. In the initial stages of the Battle of Okinawa, the military already knew that *tokkō* operations were barely effective due to the air resistance of aircraft fuselage, and the difficulties of slipping through a barrage of enemy bullets. Nevertheless, *tokkō* attacks were continued in order to gather fictitious "fruits" of battle.

Systemic violence affected not only the *tokkō* but also the entire war operation. Impatient for victory, commanders often forced soldiers to charge towards or strike the enemy in ill-considered ways, leading to a growing number of unnecessary casualties.

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35 Kanemaru 1971.

36 The secretariat of the construction committee for these structures was located in Chiran Town Hall.

In utter despair, many lower-ranked soldiers committed mindless violence against local residents. The exclusive emphasis on the "beauty" of dead soldiers' personal sentiments for self-sacrifice conceals the historical context of such rhetoric, and the pathological nature of Japan's military and government during the war. Thus, these efforts to "hand down" memories simply served to deflect people's attention from wartime history and violence.

This idea of the *tokkō* was an extension of Chiran's memorial services for the war dead. Although memorial services were held to relive past memories, questions of responsibility and criticism of the military were circumvented in several ways. First, criticism would have made such gatherings awkward as they were attended by former superior officers and commanders. Second, the focus of memorial services on *honoring* war dead allowed the issue of responsibility to be put aside. Lastly, criticism was discouraged because it suggested to the many bereaved in attendance that the deaths of *tokkō* pilots were meaningless. Services thus often emphasized the "beauty" of the sentiments of the dead in order to avoid upsetting the bereaved.

Yoshida Yutaka's 吉田裕 research on the testimony-suppressing function of veteran associations is useful here.[37] Yoshida argues that veteran associations and other places for deepening friendships between former "comrades-in-arms," have helped "regulate and control veteran association members' discussions and writings about the horror and cruelty of the battlefield, and criticisms against superiors."[38] The creation of an "intimate sphere" among former soldiers prevented, rather than encouraged, them from offering testimony or talking about their memories. According to Yoshida, their consideration for the bereaved had a similar function. Because former soldiers shared the understanding that they should not let surviving relatives of dead soldiers know about the "miserable, ugly realities of the battlefield," "consideration for surviving families" became a powerful expression used to block testimony.[39] In this sense, veteran associations functioned to control members and suppress admissions of responsibility.

Attendees of memorial services, therefore, avoided criticism of the military and focused on "honoring" the war dead in an inoffensive way, in part because both veterans and surviving relatives were present. Statements "honoring" the war dead, such as by the Kagoshima governor, utilized a logic that was inoffensive and acceptable at a gathering of surviving relatives, former *tokkō* unit members, and superior officers. These memorial services illustrate a dehistoricization process, in which admiration for the sentiment of individual pilots diverted people's attention away from the historical context, and the perversions of the wartime military.

Same Bed, Different Dreams

Some writers expressed their discomfort with those who glorified the war in Chiran from the 1960s. The aforementioned Takagi Toshirō, for example, severely criticized Chiran's narratives of the *tokkō*:

37 Yoshida 2011.
38 Yoshida 2011, p. 111.
39 Yoshida 2011, p. 187.

> People's memories and traditions change with the passage of time. Women who were students at Chiran Women's High School during the war must, deep down, still have unforgettable memories. But one states: "*Tokkō* unit members went on missions with the hope of peace for Japan." However, this is based on a lie.
>
> Today, Chiran has Tokkō Heiwa Kannon and the Ihin Kan Museum. The municipality positions them as tourist destinations to bring prosperity to the town. Being proud of these features, municipal authorities state that: "Knowledge about *tokkō* pilots who underwent rigorous training will help youth develop." This is just the repetition of wartime military thought.[40]

Takagi, who had stayed in Imphal and Leyte as a member of the Army Press Corps, strongly questioned the systemic pathology of the Japanese military, which forced soldiers to die in vain.[41] He also expressed this in his book *Chiran*. In reference to Lieutenant General Tominaga Kyōji 富永恭次, who had commanded *tokkō* attacks in the Battle of Leyte Gulf but escaped to Taiwan just before the conquest of Luzon, Takagi stated:

> The army's first *tokkō* units were Banda Tai 万朶隊, which used light bombers, and Fugaku Tai 富嶽隊, with heavy bombers. Members of the two units were indignant over the inconsistencies and thoughtlessness of the *tokkō* plan. One member wrote in his diary: "I now feel as if I am a condemned criminal." Another member, who had been honored by double promotion […], later returned alive and was ordered to die, leading to him being almost shot to death. Commander Tominaga Kyōji fled even though he had directed and encouraged these *tokkō* unit members and said, "I will also dive against the enemy on the last fighter." He was the darkest stain on the history of the Pacific War.[42]

Instead of depicting the deaths of *tokkō* unit members as "beautiful," Takagi explored their indignation at being forced to die in vain, and the military's systemic pathology and lack of responsibility. It seemed to Takagi that the public's idea of *tokkō* unit members as "youth who sacrificed themselves to protect their country and bring eternal peace while in agony between life and death," had made people blind to the violence that forced them to die in vain.

The reference to *tokkō* as "youth who sacrificed themselves to protect their country and bring eternal peace while in agony between life and death," which Takagi cites, was originally from *Chiran tokkō kichi* 知覧特攻基地 ("Chiran *Tokkō* Base"; 1979), a publication edited by the Nadeshiko Kai なでしこ会 alumnae association of Chiran Women's High School.[43] Alumnae from this school, who had been mobilized for labor services at the Chiran base, often praised *tokkō* unit members for their passion in protecting the country. However, it seemed to Takagi that the tendency in Chiran to glorify the *tokkō*, as typified by these students, made them blind to the warped culture of the military, and their history of violence.

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40 Takagi 1995, p. 364.
41 See, for example, Takagi 1983.
42 Takagi 1995, p. 360.
43 Chiran Kōjo Nadeshiko Kai 1979.

Takagi's criticisms of Chiran and the glorification of the *tokkō* seem to find a sympathetic audience among some Japanese, as indicated by the publication of these views in national newspapers. In August 1968, for example, the *Asahi shinbun* carried an article by Takagi which referred to Chiran and criticized "people who spread fabrication and falsification about *tokkō* unit members, and praised them after the war."[44]

Chiran constructed a bronze statue of a *tokkō* pilot titled "*Tokoshie ni*" とこしえに (Forever) in 1974, then established the Tokkō Ihin Kan the following year. Along with Tokkō Kannon, these structures helped transform the former air base site into a *tokkō* holy ground. Attendance at Tokkō Kannon's memorial service also grew each year, from about four hundred in 1974, to eight hundred in 1982, and two thousand in 1985.

Chiran's rapid metamorphosis into a *tokkō* holy ground, and the singing of war songs at the memorial service, were unacceptable to Takagi. Despite his views of the *tokkō* and criticism of Chiran, however, Takagi's writings also helped facilitate this transformation, as his book *Chiran* was sometimes seen as a beautiful story about the purity of *tokkō* unit members. Referring to Takagi's *Chiran*, Shimizu Shūji 清水秀治, first president of the National Veteran Association for Juvenile Army Aviators, stated at the association's founding ceremony that:

> I have recently read a novel titled *Chiran*, which depicts our comrades who flew as *tokkō* unit members. The novel describes how one officer refused to join a *tokkō* attack, and finally crashed his plane at the air base. At the same time, it also depicts pure young aviators taking off in their precious aircraft with a smile and great pride in serving the country. I believe that this is exactly how we felt when we were juvenile aviators.[45]

Such interpretations of *Chiran* were inconsistent with Takagi's intentions in writing it. Given that a former juvenile aviator read this work in such a way, it is understandable that local citizens in Chiran did likewise. What was behind this misreading? Like the consensus formed at *tokkō* memorial services, narratives of *tokkō* reproduced through interactions between veteran associations, the national media, and Chiran itself, were so powerful that people overlooked Takagi's criticism of the Japanese military.

The "Preciousness of Peace"

Emphasizing "Peace"

The most significant change in Chiran's tourism from the 1990s was an increase in tours by school excursion groups. In 1989, groups from 255 schools (a total of 38,912 students from elementary, junior high, senior high, and other schools) visited the Chiran Peace Museum, and the number increased to 444 schools (65,534 students) in 1993, and to 621 schools (56,144 students) in 2011.[46] The increase in student visitors paralleled a decrease in the number of visits by veterans and surviving relatives. Over sixty years had passed since the war, and this generation had reached a highly advanced age, and were in need

44 Takagi 1968.
45 Shimizu 1968, p. 1.
46 Chiran Peace Museum 2012.

of long-term care or had already passed away. It had become difficult for many to attend memorial services in southernmost Kyushu.

The number of visitors to the Chiran Peace Museum, however, skyrocketed. Soon after the establishment of Tokkō Ihin Kan in 1976, the museum attracted 42,292 visitors annually. In 1987, when the museum was reopened as the Chiran Peace Museum, the figure increased to 351,041, then roughly doubled to 719,573 in 2001. Since then, the figure has remained around 600,000 a year. Clearly, the overwhelming majority of visitors to Chiran today, including to the Chiran Peace Museum, are not surviving relatives and veterans but school groups and general tourists.

This shift in visitor types has influenced *tokkō* narratives in the town, as shown in the so-called "Peace Speech Contest from Chiran" (*Heiwa e no messēji from Chiran supīchi kontesuto* 平和へのメッセージ from 知覧 スピーチ・コンテスト). Launched by Chiran in 1990, and administered by the Chiran Peace Museum, this contest aims to "deliver messages of hope and pray for eternal peace worldwide" by "inviting participants from around Japan, under the theme: '*Ashita inochi kagayake*' あした いのち かがやけ (May your life shine for tomorrow)."[47] According to the museum, contestants have so far delivered many "passionate messages about the meaning of pursuing the 'preciousness of life' and the 'value of peace.'"

Significantly, Chiran (and the Chiran Peace Museum) use the terms "preciousness of life" and "value of peace" here, instead of the contents of the actual speech contest. Rather than directly "honoring" youth who sacrificed themselves to protect the country, as with memorial services, these phrases have a stronger affinity with postwar pacifism and the principles of human rights. This implies that narratives of *tokkō* in Chiran have shifted from honoring the war dead to peace. Certainly, some people have previously argued that honoring the war dead should lead to peace, but the entry guidelines for this speech contest mention "peace" without any reference to "honoring war dead."

As discussed above, many visitors to Chiran from the 1990s onward were born not in the prewar or wartime periods, but in the postwar period, predominantly after the beginning of Japan's high economic growth. Narratives of *tokkō* and war reflect this, and have come to focus on postwar visions of "peace" instead of the war dead themselves.

"Memory of the World" and a Failure to Think

Chiran's peace discourse of the 1990s was not without challenges, however. Sometimes conflict erupted between the conventional narrative of "honoring" the war dead and the new narrative of peace. This conflict is clearly demonstrated in the failed friendship agreement between Minamikyūshū, where Chiran is located, and Oświęcim in southern Poland.

On 15 July 2015, the City of Minamikyūshū announced its plan to conclude a friendship agreement with Oświęcim, where the former Auschwitz concentration camp is located. The friendship agreement plan was partly intended to support efforts by the City of Minamikyūshū to have *tokkō* pilot farewell notes registered with UNESCO's Memory of the World. The city's bid had failed the previous year, but municipal staff were enthusiastic about success in 2015, the seventieth anniversary of the end of World War II. In order to strengthen their bid, they attempted to move from a narrow national perspective to a more universal perspective. This was one factor behind the plan to conclude the friendship

47 See Chiran Peace Museum 2017a; 2017b.

agreement. After the plan was announced, however, many veterans and surviving relatives objected strongly. The city received more than one hundred complaints including protests that missions by *tokkō* pilots wishing to protect their homeland and families should not be equated with the Nazi genocide of Jews. The manager of the General Affairs Section of Minamikyūshū city hall stated, "I explained the position of the city (to those who phoned us to file objections), but no one understood what I said." The city therefore abandoned the plan to conclude the friendship agreement.[48]

People who questioned the relationship between the *tokkō* and the Holocaust may have been correct. Minamikyūshū's failure to fully consider this caused confusion. However, the issue that should be examined here—and one at the heart of changes in war-related tourism mentioned above—is why the city decided to initiate such a friendship agreement.

Objections that *tokkō* sorties should not be identified with the Nazi massacre of the Jews were based on a logic of honoring the war dead. This logic, premised on the idea that *tokkō* pilots wanted to protect their homeland and families, was crucial to conventional war-related tourism targeted at veterans and surviving relatives. In contrast, the city's attempt to conclude a friendship agreement with Oświęcim was closer to the logic of "peace" associated with school excursion groups. The city clearly expressed its willingness to expand narratives of the *tokkō* beyond honoring them to include narratives of the value of peace and preciousness of life. This is why the city chose Auschwitz, the most powerful symbol of suffering and violence in World War II, as its partner.

However, as explained above, the city had not fully considered how to answer doubts about the connection between Chiran and Auschwitz. Although they shared characteristics as places related to the destruction in World War II, they had nothing else in common. From any perspective, it would be difficult to treat the Nazi genocide as equivalent to *tokkō* pilots who wished to protect their homeland and families.

As the above suggests, the narratives of peace aimed at recent student excursion groups and general tourists were not constructed through in-depth consideration; rather, such narratives have fostered a lack of critical thought.[49] As part of education, school excursions are often required to be politically neutral, and avoid value judgments concerning controversial topics. While "peace" can be accepted by everyone as a value-neutral concept, emphasis on honoring the war dead or war responsibility might be criticized as tendentious. In addition, mainstream tourism often avoids controversial topics because it depends on the acceptance of a wide range of visitors with diverse values and backgrounds. This is why the colorless and transparent word of "peace" is often utilized in tourism promotion. Such empty appeals for peace, however, prevent deep consideration of history and its complexities. By simply confirming the undisputable value of peace, this type of tourism works as an obstacle to candid and critical thinking about history on the part of participants.

The same can be said about conventional, "memorial-service" style narratives of the *tokkō*. As mentioned previously, such "memories" of the past prevent people from fully considering wartime society and its systemic pathology, and facilitate the de-historicization of war memories. On the surface, conventional narratives of "honoring" rooted in pilgrimage by veterans and the bereaved differ greatly from newer narratives of "peace"

48 *Sankei shinbun* 29.7.2015.

49 On the politics of peace discourses, see Yamamoto 2015.

targeting school groups and general tourists. However, there is collusion between these narratives, in that both prevent an in-depth, thoughtful exploration of history, and respond in similar ways to visitor desires for comfort and inoffensiveness. Whether in the name of "honoring" or "peace," therefore, both have facilitated de-historicization.

Conclusion: The Politics of "Risk-Free Memories"

Twenty-five years after the end of the war, memories of *tokkō* began to be rediscovered as local memories in Chiran. The image of Chiran as a hometown of the *tokkō* was a social construct born of complex interactions between increasingly active veteran associations, a boom in war-related books and movies, and Chiran's depopulation. This image was then "borrowed" as part of local Chiran identity. However, the narrative of the *tokkō* buried and obliterated certain memories. The war experiences of local citizens and warped history of the *tokkō* were obscured. As the "beauty" of the personal feelings of *tokkō* pilots drew attention, the historical realities of coercion that made young pilots embody such "beauty" was disregarded, accelerating the de-historization process. Collaboration at local and national levels between veteran associations, government, and the media, played a key role in this. Such dynamics underpinned efforts in Chiran to pass on memories of war.

Today, when school pupils and general tourists account for the overwhelming majority of visitors to Chiran, memories placing a greater focus on "peace" than "honoring" have entered the foreground. However, narratives of peace have also accelerated de-historicization, because they have been constructed to conform with other people's expectations, rather than Chiran's own memories—which would include agony and regret. These new "memories" are inoffensive, risk-free, and comfortable, but also empty of meaning.

Similar ways of transmitting memories of the war can be found in places across Japan. With over seventy years having passed since the Asia-Pacific War ended, the number of survivors who can share their experiences of war is rapidly declining. It is now the norm that those who have never experienced war play the role of storytellers in place of actual war survivors. This is also the case in Hiroshima and Okinawa. In the future narratives based on "memories" that internalize other people's expectations may become increasingly mass-produced. These narratives will certainly tell much about the value of peace, but as this paper suggests, they may induce a refusal to think deeply about important issues. Disputes over historical issues, such as politician's visits to Yasukuni Shrine, and the responsibility of the Japanese military for wartime mass suicides by Okinawans, still remain unresolved. War-related tourist destinations visited by a wide range of people skillfully avoid controversial topics. Consequently, even people who purposefully visit places connected to memories of the past are prevented from deepening their understanding of these events and their historical contexts.

Perhaps, then, the case of Chiran is not so unusual. In terms of how we pass on war memories to future generations, Chiran may actually be typical. "Memories" in and about Chiran are a problem of postwar history, and at the same time, a problem of the present and future. How will current generations face the tendency to de-historicize in their own efforts to pass on memories? Chiran's postwar history teaches us about the complex politics of "memories" produced by war-related sites generally.

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Down in a Hole: Dark Tourism, Haunted Places as Affective Meshworks, and the Obliteration of Korean Laborers in Contemporary Kyoto

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This article provides an analysis of the relation between tourists' experiences, affect, and bodily perceptions, together with processes of remembering and forgetting, focusing on (dark) touristic practices in haunted places in contemporary Japan. It highlights the social features of oblivion, processes in the creation of memories and discourses of war, and their entanglement in the "meshwork" that constitutes a particular place. I draw on ethnographic data of a guided ghost tour that visits Kiyotaki Tunnel, one of the most renowned haunted places in Kyoto. I describe tourists' experiences, analyze the rumors about the haunting, and show that, among the locals, memories of the death of and discrimination against Korean laborers in the tunnel were strategically forgotten. Yet, these memories were "unearthed," appropriated and spread on the internet by visitors, attracted by the haunting. I point out that haunted places emerge as "affective meshworks" primarily as a result of bodily correspondences with affordances in the environment, rather than from narrative and belief, and that (dark) touristic practices can contribute to the construction of new discourses, thus unsettling power relationships. I argue that a focus on affect in shaping meshworks of bodies, environments, memories, and discourses through (dark) touristic practices, can provide an understanding of the experiences of visitors to places related to war and death, and that visitors contribute to the construction of new memories and discourses.

Keywords: dark tourism, perception, affect and discourse, social memory, materiality, affordance, haunted places, ghosts, Koreans in Kyoto, anthropology

Introduction

A big street sign on the left side of the street that leads to the Kiyotaki 清滝 Tunnel reads: "Dead end: Please do not enter during night-time without good reason." People stop at the traffic light at the tunnel's entrance, so most of them probably see it. The sign clarifies why it was made and put there: it seems that there are people who go through the tunnel at night,

with no apparent reason. I called the Kiyotaki Neighborhood Council, whose name was on the sign, in order to get an explanation. The voice of an older woman replied that there are several cases of people entering the tunnel at nights, particularly during the summer. They go through it, turn around and return, or they go away through the mountain road that crosses the Kiyotaki pass. Especially in such a lightly inhabited mountain area, where silence at night can be overwhelming and not even monkeys dare to break it with their screams, engines resonate very loudly and disturb the residents of Kiyotaki, the very small residential area next to one of the tunnel's entrances. The woman told me that she did not know the reason why people do it. Maybe she was telling the truth, but I doubt it: even I know why people visit the tunnel at night. It is a very famous haunted place, and it attracts people who drive their bikes, cars, even bicycles, or walk through it, in order to test their courage. It attracts them and affects them. From 2009 to 2011, it also affected tourists and, with them, it affected me as well.

Affording Discourses on Affect and Memory

In the last decades, studies on the phenomenon of so-called "dark tourism" have rapidly increased. According to Stone, the results of a simple Google Scholar search using the generic term "dark tourism" generated approximately 2,000 entries in 2001, whereas in 2011 they were as many as 63,900.[1] I performed the same search at the time of writing the present article, and I obtained approximately 282,000 entries.

"Dark tourism" is generally defined—largely from a supply perspective—as "the phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites," or "the act of travel to sites of death, disaster or the seemingly macabre," and has presently become the most widely used term in scholarly articles that analyze these kinds of phenomena.[2]

The term has already been widely criticized and problematized, both as an analytical tool, and as a term indicating a set of phenomena actually distinguishable from "heritage tourism."[3] Therefore, taking definitional issues into consideration goes beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, war, war memories, battlefields, and their development into tourist destinations have been analyzed as related to tourism in general and, specifically, to the field of "dark tourism," although not necessarily as the main topic under focus.[4] These studies have highlighted, for instance, the positive or negative impact that war tourism and consumption have on (local) economies and local knowledge, their role in the construction of national or local identities, or provided historical overviews of tourism to specific battlefields.[5] Yet, despite some exceptions, accounts of how memories of war and places related to them are contested or negotiated in localities are almost entirely missing.[6] Moreover, although Ryan points out that "[r]eferences to silences, and to discourse, and the nature of that discourse, and the relationship between agreement, disagreement, presence, and absence" are central issues in the field of war and tourism, there has been very little

1 Stone 2011, p. 320.
2 Foley and Lennon 1996, p. 198; Stone 2006, p. 146.
3 Biran, Poria, and Oren 2011; Bowman and Pezzullo 2009; De Antoni 2013; De Antoni 2017a.
4 See Butler and Suntikul 2013; Ryan 2007a; Fyall, Prideaux, and Timothy 2006.
5 See Cooper 2006; Cooper 2007; Knox 2006; Kutbay and Aykac 2016; Lee 2006; Nagy 2016; Ryan 2007a.
6 See Hannam 2006; Knox 2006.

analysis in this direction.[7] Furthermore, all these studies tend to focus very strongly on narrative and discourse, thus leaving tourists' lived experiences aside.

Therefore, in this article, I will follow a recent trend in (dark) tourism research and focus on the experiential and affective aspects of places related to death.[8] In particular, I will analyze the role of "affective correspondences" and "affective meshworks" in the processes of construction of war memory and, above all, of oblivion.[9]

On the one hand, anthropological research in particular has started focusing on the body immersed in the world, re-discussing representational views of landscapes, places and spaces while exploring the perception that emerges through "correspondences" with the environment based on practice, as well as the role that "affective spaces" have in the creation of social practice.[10] These approaches tend to see (living) beings as emerging within ontologies in which they "do not propel themselves across a ready-made world but rather issue forth through a world-in-formation, along the lines of their relationships."[11] In this sense, beings are seen not as enclosed and self-standing, but as "meshworks" of "entangled lines of life, growth and movement" emerging from correspondences among humans and nonhumans in the environment.[12]

On the other hand, although it is relatively new in the field of tourism studies, the so-called "affective turn" has influenced the humanities and social sciences in the last decade by focusing on the role of affect and bodily perceptions in the shaping of social practice. Clough has defined affectivity as "a substrate of potential bodily responses, often automatic responses, in excess of consciousness," whereas Massumi distinguishes between affects and emotions, the first being "virtual synesthetic perspectives anchored in […] the actually existing […], a nonsignifying response to a quality of intensity."[13] In Massumi's view, affects are lived "intensities" that are pre-cognition, pre-symbolic, pre-linguistic, and pre-personal and, therefore, they constitute the virtual and vital from which realities and subjects may emerge. Emotions are "captures" of affect within structures of meaning.

These approaches have created new understandings of the social, but because of the focus on the pre-linguistic, pre-personal, and pre-cognitive, they are in danger of leaving cultural differences aside. Moreover, more ethnography on affect is arguably needed in order to ground the whole debate—which tends to be very theoretical—in empirical data.[14]

From a methodological perspective, therefore, it is necessary to create a bridge between "classic" anthropological views on social and power relationships—whose unveiling was indicated as one of the main tasks of recent, critical anthropology—and these new approaches focusing on bodily perceptions and affect.[15] In this article, therefore, I would like to focus on the relationships between affect on the one hand, and discourse and power on the other. In particular, I am interested in shedding light on the processes by which certain actors are mobilized, and memories and discourses are created, thus becoming an

7 Ryan 2007b, p. 2.
8 See Golańska 2015.
9 De Antoni 2017b.
10 Ingold 2000; Ingold 2013; Navaro-Yashin 2012.
11 Ingold 2011, p. 63.
12 Ingold 2011, p. 64.
13 Clough 2007, p. 2; Massumi 2002, p. 35.
14 See Martin 2013; Robbins 2013; Wetherell 2012.
15 Asad 2003.

integral part of the "meshwork" that constitutes one particular place. My interest lies also in how certain historical events and actors are (more or less) strategically forgotten and silenced, that is, the social features of the construction of forgetting and oblivion. Therefore, I will try to show that a focus on the role of affect as an active force in shaping "meshworks" of bodies, environments, memories, and discourses through (touristic) practice can be a very useful tool in providing an understanding of the experiences of visitors to places related to war and death. Conversely, I will also show that tourists' affects and experiences in one place contribute to the construction of new memories and discourses.

The creation of social memory is a complex process that involves negotiations in the present, and that is often very political, particularly with regard to war memories.[16] Indeed, in the case of Japan, "contestations over war history have prevented the emergence of a dominant narrative […], although there are a variety of identifiable competing cultural narratives."[17] Morris-Suzuki and others write of how dealing with the (more or less metaphorical) "ghosts of violence" and the difficult past of World War II is problematic not only for Japan, but for the whole of East Asia, precisely because of international power relations.[18] Moreover, the issues related to remembering, forgetting, and "haunting" involve conflicts that began much earlier than World War II and are not settled yet. Indeed, on the one hand, "conflicts between Japan and its neighbors are just part of a complex nexus of 'history wars' that have beset the region" and that "do not simply exist side by side, but have become deeply intertwined."[19] On the other hand, this rewriting of history, memory, and forgetting is not only carried out within national discourses, but also involves different agents and relations at local levels, as well as their particularities in relation to dominant narratives.[20]

These studies are extremely useful in framing the relationships between the creation of discourses of memory and power relationships. Yet they mainly rely on discourse analysis, thus leaving aside the situated experiences and affective correspondences with the (material) environments related to those memories.[21]

My approach to the bridging of affect and discourse relies on Dumouchel's work on social emotions.[22] He adds a focus on the relational, dialogical dimension of affect, and "affective coordination," through which two (or more) actors interact, pointing out that feeling subjects emerge as a result of the coordination itself. I also rely on the idea of "affective practice" and "affective meaning making" proposed by Wetherell, who brings back discourse by seeing affect as situated within "local social orders" and "institutions of intelligibility."[23] She argues that through an "affective practice" that "is relational" and "builds (and arises

16 Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 2000.
17 Seaton 2007, p. 3.
18 Morris-Suzuki, Low, and Petrov 2013.
19 Morris-Suzuki 2013a, p. 9.
20 Seaton 2016, p. 15.
21 An exception to this trend is the work by Morris-Suzuki (2013b, p. 96), who mentions the importance of material aspects in "feeling the present in the body" in order to understand past experiences. Nevertheless, she does not investigate hauntings from this perspective.
22 Dumouchel 1996; Dumouchel 2008.
23 Wetherell 2012, p. 79.

from) jointly constructed relational 'realities,'" "affective meaning making" dialogically emerges within a discursive context.[24]

These approaches, though, barely take into consideration correspondence with the environment. Therefore, in order to link affective practice and meaning making, I will rely on the concept of "affordance" proposed by the psychologist James J. Gibson, namely what the environment "offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes, either for good or ill," an idea that "implies the complementarity of the animal and the environment."[25]

I believe that this relational concept can constitute a bridge between "affective correspondences" with the environment, "affective meshworks," processes of memory and forgetting, as well as discourse and power, as I will try to show in the next sections. In order to do so, I will focus on the case of Kiyotaki Tunnel, one of the most famous haunted places —if not *the* most famous—in Kyoto. Indeed, as Heholt pointed out, "[h]aunting itself is merely or *only* affect: it has no existence without affect."[26]

Research Methods

This study is based on ethnographic data I gathered through fieldwork in Kyoto in 2010 and 2011, during the Kyoto *kaidan ya-basu* 怪談夜バス tour, a bus tour created in 2009 by a small travel agency based in Kyoto. The number of people taking part in it was constantly increasing. The travel agency offered a single route in summer 2009, two different routes in summer 2010, four different routes and a train tour were scheduled in summer 2011, and the agency planned to offer ten different routes along with the train tour in summer 2012. Yet, accompanying the massive influence on tourism in Kyoto of the 3/11 triple disaster, about half of the tours in 2011 were canceled, due to lack of demand as well as resistance from customers and companies involved in other tours carried out by the travel agency.[27]

First, I carried out an internet survey of specialized websites, blogs, forums, chat rooms, and interviewed the webmasters of the most relevant websites, about rumors regarding haunted places. Second, I carried out participant observation during the tour. The ghost tours were repeated six times in 2010 and they took place every Saturday in 2011, in both years between July and September. They started and ended at Kyoto Station and lasted approximately three hours from 18:30 to 21:30. People could take part by paying a six thousand yen fee, which included a special bento box.

I took part in the tours five times in 2010 and seven times in 2011. The first two times, I took part as a customer. Then I was allowed to take part for free and, at the beginning, I was introduced to the customers as an Italian anthropologist affiliated to Kyoto University. Since the schedule of the tour was tight and the guide or the organizers were constantly speaking on the bus, talking to the participants was not easy. Therefore, every time I focussed on two or three people (out of thirty-two people overall), particularly those who stated that they felt some ghostly presence, trying to obtain some more detailed information about their experiences. I repeatedly met and interviewed the four members of staff, especially the head of the agency and the tour guide and, in the few cases in which the haunted places visited were located in or nearby residential areas, I conducted interviews

24 Wetherell 2012, p. 86.
25 Gibson 1979, p. 127.
26 Heholt 2016, p. 5.
27 See De Antoni 2013.

with the residents. In this article, I rely on such data, as well as on follow-up interviews with residents around Kiyotaki Tunnel (fourteen people overall), carried out mainly in June 2014.

Ghostly Weapons

Most of the studies about ghosts and the supernatural in Japan have tended either to take a historical approach, or to pertain to the field of folklore studies, thus focusing more on features related to local traditions.[28] To my knowledge, the only exception to this trend is the work by Marilyn Ivy, whose ethnographic fieldwork shed light on the relationships between ghosts and discourses of nostalgia related to an idealized past, as the ground for constructing national discourses of "Japaneseness" in contemporary Japan.[29]

This approach resonates with other anthropological studies that pointed out the relationship between spirits and resistance to changes in economic systems, showing how these beliefs can be framed and interpreted as providing critiques of colonialism, modernity, capitalism, and globalization, which in their relationship to exploitation and hardship are locally perceived as immoralities.[30]

A relationship between ghosts and (state) power has also been pointed out by Kim, who argues that in Korea and China, "hungry ghosts appear through [a] shaman's ritual [...] with grudge[s] against the present materialist/neo-liberal world of modernity" and that many of these ghosts, particularly in Korea, are spirits of people who died or were killed during the Japanese colonial period.[31] In this sense, he sees them as "weapons of the weak," claiming that rituals of hungry ghosts are "cultural practices organized by the living [...] to revive the muted memories of the deprived and marginalized people, and thus to posit them in the official history of the society."[32]

In the case of Japan, the link between ghosts and the "weapons of the weak" has not been explicitly articulated. Yet, their connection to social liminals and certain places associated with them has been a recurring theme within studies in anthropology and folklore. Although mainly through discourse analysis, these studies shed light on this relationship both from a historical perspective and in contemporary society.[33]

In particular, Komatsu has argued that, from the Nara period to modern times, an "other world"—demonic or monstrous—associated with the dark outer lands of the realm was managed by emperors and shoguns through (religious) symbolic practices, in order to secure and display power and authority.[34] Yet, at the same time, even discontented factions (such as peasants, disgruntled samurai, religious groups, and opposition parties) used the same symbolic paradigm as a means of protest. When this happened, monsters were reappropriated by the rebellion, while giving birth to carnivalesque practices and parody, or directly representing authorities themselves in demonic terms.[35]

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28 For example, Figal 1999; Foster 2009; Iwasaka and Toelken 1994; Yanagita 1977.
29 Ivy 1995.
30 See Comaroff and Comaroff 2002; Lewis 1971; Ong 1987; Taussig 1980. See also Sanders 2008.
31 Kim 2011.
32 Kim 2011; Scott 1985.
33 See, for example, Komatsu 1985; Ouwehand 1964; Raveri 2006. See also the analysis of *misemono* 見世物 at Ryōgoku Bridge in Tokyo in Figal 1999, pp. 21–37.
34 Komatsu 1985.
35 Komatsu 1985. See also Figal 1999; Wilson 1992.

Also, the modern history of monsters and ghosts in Japan is deeply entangled with state power. On the one hand, the contemporary *possibilities* of feeling or being possessed by a ghost are intertwined with the Meiji period and the project of modernity. In particular, Buddhism was constructed as a "religion," as opposed to a "superstition" that needed to be eliminated.[36] Yet, although monsters (*yōkai* 妖怪) and other spirit entities related to local cults such as *tengu* 天狗 and *kitsune* 狐 were "cleansed" by debunking related phenomena through scientific rationality, or by psychologizing them, ghosts (*yūrei* 幽霊) constituted an exception.[37] Among other reasons, this was because, being spirits of the dead, directly debunking them would have meant negating the existence of the human spirit and, consequently, challenging more or less directly the cult of ancestors, on which the whole Meiji emperor system apparatus was based.[38] This exception, however, created the possibility for ghosts not to be erased and to continue to exist up to today.

Although "there are some doubts about the general applicability of Komatsu's paradigm," some cases of connections between ghosts and liminals were observed also in contemporary Japan.[39] For instance, in Mutsu 陸奥—the closest city to the famous sacred mountain Osorezan 恐山—the highest number of ghost sightings was reported in the area where Koreans lived up to World War II. In this case, rumors about ghosts originated from the locals, not from the Korean community that was no longer there. Therefore, although no longer explicitly related to Koreans, rumors reproduced an identification of the area as somehow "other" to the rest of the city.[40]

Moreover, cases of possession in Okinawa, for instance, suggest similarities with the above-mentioned Korean cases. In fact, scholars cite cases of local shamans healing from or being possessed by spirits of Ryukyuan people who were mistreated by the Japanese. Such practices may be said to reinforce Okinawan local identity.[41] Similarly, reports of sightings of Japanese soldiers who died during World War II also exist.[42]

This is not to say that there is a direct connection between hauntings and World War II. In fact, on the one hand, there are plenty of haunted places in contemporary Japan that have nothing to do with that war; on the other, not all places related to World War II are perceived as haunted. Nevertheless, underlying notions of untamed or unjust death created the possibility for linking (local) discourses on war or wartime discrimination with apparitions and perceptions of ghosts.

Moreover, since the seventies, Japan has witnessed a so-called "occult boom." A proliferation of narratives about ghosts followed the popularity of American horror films, in particular *The Exorcist* (1974).[43] In the following years, such narratives were spread by a multitude of magazines, specialized books, films, *anime*, and, more recently, the internet. They also circulated rumors about haunted places. Unlike ghost stories, these narratives inform people about where they can relate with ghosts and, consequently, they have become

36 Josephson 2006; Josephson 2012.
37 Figal 1999; Foster 2009; Josephson 2006; Harding, Iwata, and Yoshinaga 2015; Josephson 2012.
38 De Antoni 2015.
39 Figal 1999, p. 23.
40 De Antoni 2010.
41 See Allen 2002a; Allen 2002b; Sasaki 1984; Shiotsuki 2006.
42 For example, Oda 2011.
43 De Antoni 2015; Taniguchi 2006.

entangled with social practices such as "courage testing" (*kimodameshi* 肝試し) or, as I will show below, tourism. The tour in which I carried out fieldwork is one of the most recent products in this context.

Visiting Ghosts in Kyoto

Since the Kyoto *kaidan ya-basu* tour has already been described and analyzed in detail elsewhere, in this section I will limit myself to a very simple introduction.[44] The agency that created it was composed of three people. Yet, the main character on the bus was the guide, a male in his late fifties from Kyoto prefecture, who often collaborated with the agency. He used to work as artistic director in an advertising company and, after retirement, decided to become a ghost storyteller. Since then, he has often been invited on radio and television programs to talk about ghosts and ghost stories, and manages a free web magazine with around thirty thousand readers, and a website, through which he promotes and sells his books and CDs.[45] Indeed, his celebrity within the network of people interested in ghost stories and haunted places was the reason why he was chosen and contacted by the head of the travel agency. He entertained the people on the bus with stories about ghosts or supernatural phenomena, and provided information about the history and the ghost stories of the places that the tour would visit, thus playing a major role in constructing places as haunted.

In 2010, an average of twenty people attended the tour each time. The bus had twenty-four available seats and on three occasions the bus was completely full. There were also people who took part in the tour two or three times. I met a few people from Kyoto, although most of the participants were from Osaka and Shiga prefectures, or from other cities in the Kansai or Kanto areas. Most participants were in their late thirties to early fifties, both male and female (with females slightly outnumbering males), but there were also small groups of university students, young teenagers, or children with their mothers. Most of the tourists joined the tour in small groups, from two to four people. Yet, every time there were two or three people (mostly males in their forties) who joined the tour on their own. This caused the slight gender unbalance, since women hardly joined the tour on their own.

Most of the tourists, regardless of their age or gender, told me that they decided to take part in the tour because they found it "unusual" (*mezurashii* 珍しい). Many people, generally in their forties, stated they chose the tour because they wanted to "shiver" (*zotto suru* ゾッとする), or because they wanted to see "weird things" (*hen na mono* 変なもの) or ghosts (*yūrei*). Yet, there were also people interested in Kyoto history, and people who often visited haunted places and had a personal interest in the supernatural. In other words, most of the participants joined the tour because they wanted to try to interrelate with ghosts, namely with the spirits of people who (allegedly) died in those places. In this sense, the tour could be defined as an example of so-called "dark tourism."[46]

The first stops on every route were Shinto shrines, all somehow connected to stories of murderers and demons in the past. The guide explicitly brought these into play as ways to be

44 De Antoni 2013; De Antoni 2017a.
45 Ōmagatoki 2016.
46 De Antoni 2013.

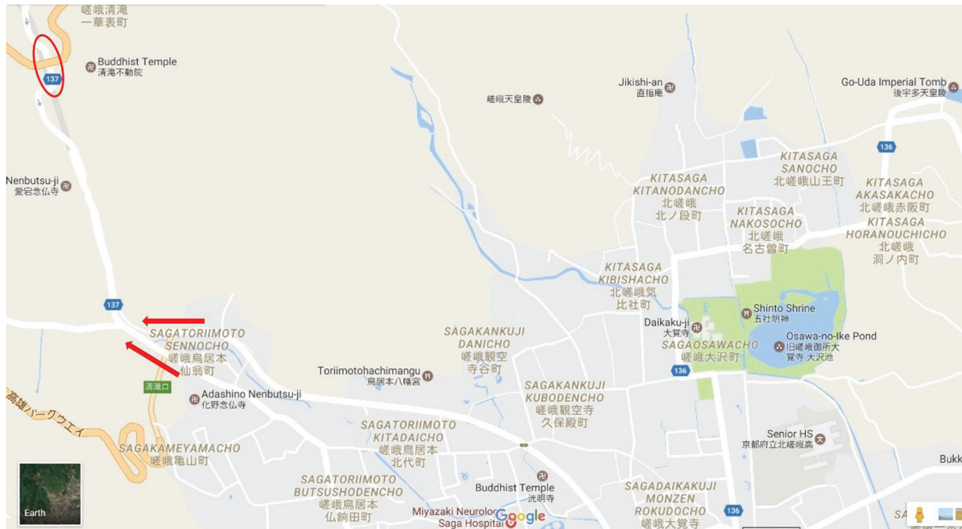

Figure 1. The area surrounding Kiyotaki Tunnel (encircled). Produced using Google Maps.

purified and protected during the tour. People tried to interact with ghosts, taking pictures of the places, looking for something weird, and, sometimes, someone even claimed they actually took some ghostly pictures. In some cases, ghosts interacted with people: sometimes one person, or a small group of participants, claimed that they heard lamenting voices that no one else had heard. Sometimes people would suddenly start feeling cold, or start crying, or screaming because something touched their shoulder, depending on the places. Kiyotaki Tunnel was one of the places where similar experiences happened.

Placing Kiyotaki Tunnel

Kiyotaki Tunnel is a roughly five-hundred-meter-long tunnel, built in Ukyō-ku, Kyoto, in 1929. It was a part of the broader Atagosan Railway, a line that would bring people from Arashiyama to Kiyotaki station and, from there, to the top of Atago 愛宕 mountain with the use of a cable car. However, following a governmental designation of the line as "non-essential and non-urgent," it was dismantled in 1944. The rails were reused by the military industry, and the tunnel was reallocated for the use of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries for the production of airframes.[47]

At present, the tunnel is one of two possible routes to Kiyotaki directly from Kyoto. The other is a street that climbs up the neighboring mountain and arrives exactly at the opposite side of the tunnel; it is definitely a less practical option.

The closest suburban area is Saga-Toriimoto 嵯峨鳥居本, which encompasses residential neighborhoods, a street with some shops and restaurants, Buddhist temples, and a Shinto shrine named Toriimoto Hachimangū 鳥居本八幡宮. Although it is not far away from the touristic Arashiyama and Sagano Walk, the area sees a relatively low number of visitors and feels quite deserted.

47 Maboroshi no tetsudō 2015.

There are two possible ways to reach the tunnel (see arrows in figure 1). One is from the shopping street. This road, however, is very narrow and does not allow cars to go easily through. Most cars and all buses (included the tour bus where I carried out fieldwork) reach the tunnel from the broader Route 137, a mountain street surrounded by woods on both sides, which alternate with small groups of houses.

Since the tunnel is very narrow there is only a single lane through it, and traffic lights are placed at both entrances, in order to prevent accidents. These traffic lights play a major role in creating experiences in the tunnel, as I will discuss below.

"Meshworking" the Haunted Tunnel

Although Kiyotaki Tunnel is not the only haunted place in Kyoto, nor the only (haunted) tunnel, it is renowned as one of the most—if not *the* most—famous haunted places in Kyoto, and reported as such in specialized books, websites, and blogs. The tunnel's peculiarities are made clear in one of the books about haunted places in Kyoto:

> A place that competes for the first or second position among haunted places in Kyoto: the super-famous "Kiyotaki Tunnel" […]. Rather than rumors about actually "seeing" ghosts, one can often hear rumors that, by satisfying certain conditions, one can "(apparently) see" ghosts […]. People created the rumor that "when you arrive, if the traffic light that you see is red, you must not enter" […]. The reason seems to be as follows: "That traffic light is almost always red. If it is green, it is the sign that 'something' from inside the tunnel is calling you."[48]

The traffic lights placed at both entrances of the tunnel play a fundamental role in the construction of the haunting. Needless to say, during the tour we would wait until the traffic light became green. This tunnel was the last place on the route, and we would arrive there when the sun was down and the street was very dark. The bus would pull over next to the tunnel, so that visitors and the staff could walk to the entrance. We would stop and gather in a space on the left of the tunnel, and the guide would tell us the rumors about it.

We were only able to enter the tunnel twice because it was considered dangerous owing to traffic conditions. Yet, even when we could walk in it, the staff and guide would not go with us, choosing not to have anything to do with such an eerie place. They were not the only ones who refused to have a direct experience in the tunnel. Of the two times we entered, two tourists and one tourist respectively refused to participate. When I asked for explanations (they were paying six thousand yen, after all), they declared that they felt something weird (*okashii* おかしい), or that the atmosphere was too heavy (*kūki ga omosugiru* 空気が重過ぎる). Two of them told me that they were feeling some ghostly presence (*rei o kanjiru* 霊を感じる). Indeed, the second time we entered, two people claimed they heard a woman's voice.

These experiences were very much in line with rumors about the tunnel, which can be found on the internet and in magazines. Below, I have translated the first webpage that appeared in a Google search for "Kiyotaki Tunnel."[49] The webmaster carried out a simple

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48 Irie 2007, pp. 87–88.
49 *koto × koto KYOTO* 2017.

survey himself, and reported on the webpage the stories that he heard both from residents in the area around the tunnel, and from television programs:

1. If the traffic light is green when you arrive, you must not enter the tunnel, because you are being invited in by a ghost.
2. If you enter, something scary will happen. In case the traffic light is green, wait until it becomes red, then enter once the traffic light turns green again.
3. If you look at a mirror turned downwards on the Kiyotaki pass, you will see yourself dying, or, in the event that your image is not reflected, you will die soon.
4. The Kiyotaki pass is infested with the spirits of people that were killed on an ancient execution site.
5. In Kiyotaki one can hear a woman screaming/sutras being chanted.
6. The tunnel is longer when entered from the Kiyotaki side than it is from the Kyoto side.
7. When driving in the tunnel, a woman dressed in white robes falls on your bonnet.
8. [A] woman committed suicide in the tunnel thirty years ago after having being violently mistreated in the surrounding area. Her suicidal ghost [still haunts the tunnel].
9. The ghosts of the people who died in accidents when the tunnel was built appear.
10. The place around the tunnel/pass is famous for suicides, because there are many strong trees [from which to hang oneself].

This list includes all the rumors that I heard or read myself during fieldwork, including those that the guide, during the tour, reported to visitors.

An analysis of this list can shed some light on some aspects of the tunnel's construction as a "meshwork." In the first instance, as Irie (above) pointed out, much of the "haunting" of the tunnel revolves around what one is supposed to do or avoid when approaching. In this process, the traffic light becomes a fundamental actor. Points 1 and 2 in the list are directly related to this, while points 7 and 8 can be seen as consequences of points 1 and 2, namely the "something scary" that happens if one enters the tunnel when the traffic light is red. Point 9 might relate to this, although the agency of the people who died in the tunnel is not made explicit. Point 10 links suicides to the whole area and, consequently, could be seen as related to the suicidal woman mentioned in point 10. The screams/sutra chanting mentioned in point 5 are also related to this.

Needless to say, the historical truthfulness or untruthfulness of each rumor is totally irrelevant. For instance, I could not find any historical evidence of any execution site in the area, and all of the residents I interviewed denied that there have ever been any suicides in the area. I even asked the local police, but they were unaware of such incidents.

When I asked the tour guide about the genesis of these rumors, he replied that it is not known: "However, stories of women wearing a white kimono, who fall from above, are usual in places considered haunted […]. Since it is impossible to determine who started this rumour first, there are many possibilities that this is a case of appropriation of a different one."[50]

50 Email communication on 15 June 2014.

As undefined as these rumors may be, it is clear that they produce a "translation" of Kiyotaki Tunnel and the surrounding area as haunted.[51] They mobilize certain determined humans (the woman, people who died in the tunnel, people who commited suicide or were executed) and nonhumans (the traffic light, the mirror, certain sounds, execution sites), and link them to the tunnel and the area. Thus, the tunnel is configured as related to the area in a "meshwork" of lines created by several different human and nonhuman actors; from it, the reality of the haunting emerges.

The role that rumors have in constituting haunted places by mobilizing certain actors and linking them to a specific place is not peculiar to Kiyotaki Tunnel.[52] The peculiarity of this case resides—in my view—in two points, which I will analyze in the next sections. The first is the experience in the tunnel, which is relevant to an analysis of affect in relation to materiality, and that shows the centrality of movement and affordances in the creation of the "meshwork." The second has to do with point 9 in the list above, and will focus on discourse, power, and forgetting.

Moving Ghosts

One of the peculiarities of the rumors regarding the tunnel is their nearly normative focus on stopping at the traffic light when it is red. Rationalist interpretations for this rumor related to the appearance of ghosts can be found in specialized books that focus on the physical properties of the tunnel:

> Kiyotaki Tunnel […] is extremely narrow, if compared to its five hundred meter length. Consequently, it has become a one-way alternating traffic road. Furthermore, since the time in which the traffic light is green is short, the probability of finding it green is low. The concern about a collision in the tunnel has probably become the psychological ground for the horror.[53]

Although the tunnel is probably no narrower than other (haunted) tunnels in Kyoto, it is longer and, above all, it is the only one that motorized vehicles can use, thus the only one in which serious accidents could happen. Possibly as a consequence of this risk, the time in which the traffic light is green (roughly thirty-eight seconds), was set as much shorter than the one in which it is red (roughly four minutes and five seconds). Arriving when the traffic light is already green and directly entering the tunnel would increase the possibility of a crash. This interpretation, on the one hand, proves that even people who are interested in ghosts and haunted places are perfectly able to apply rational scientific reasoning to these phenomena. Yet, on the other, it also shows that this kind of reasoning is not sufficient to explain fully "haunted experiences" in the tunnel. The people who were affected by the tunnel during the tour felt something before entering, that is, before they could realize the theoretical risk of being involved in a car crash.

A strong explanation for the experiences with ghosts in the tunnel is provided by rumor number six in the list above ("The tunnel is longer when entered from the Kiyotaki side

51 Callon 1984; De Antoni 2011.
52 See De Antoni 2011.
53 Irie 2007, p. 88.

than it is from the Kyoto side"), because, in a certain sense, it is true. I calculated that the average time to go from the Kyoto entrance to the Kiyotaki one (roughly forty five seconds by car) was slightly shorter than the time to go through the tunnel in the opposite direction (roughly sixty seconds).

The reason for this is that the tunnel affects bodies that go through it. In fact, a very peculiar feature of this tunnel is that it bends in a point which is very close to the Kiyotaki exit and thus, when going through it from Kyoto, seeing the exit is impossible until nearly the end (figure 2). Consequently, people moving in the tunnel cannot understand whether someone is coming from the other side until they nearly reach the exit. Moreover, there is no way of knowing whether the traffic light has become green on the other side.

I went through the tunnel myself in both directions several times by bicycle, twice by bus and once by car. Although riding a bicycle would not have created any particularly dangerous situations—there was enough space for both bicycle and car—I always felt very uneasy, and pushed myself to ride faster, exactly because of the sense of having no control of the situation. Similarly, I noticed that the bus drivers tended to speed up while going through the tunnel.

From the perspective of the body-moving-in-the-tunnel, this creates another peculiar phenomenon, namely the sense of speeding up while running against a wall. Consequently, at least to a certain extent, this creates what experimental psychologists call "approach aversion effect": "Individuals feel less positively (or more negatively) about a stimulus if they perceive it to be approaching […]," thus showing that "the effect of movement is distinct from the effect of distance."[54] This does not happen in the opposite direction, because the street bends right after the entrance and, therefore, the exit becomes visible straight away, thus allowing a clearer vision of what is happening on the other side.

Moreover, inside the tunnel, the air is actually colder than outside, particularly during the summer, whereas it tends to be slightly warmer during the winter. The air is very damp and a light wind blows through it, thus—at times—actually providing the feeling of being lightly touched by something invisible. Furthermore, going through the tunnel is a very noisy experience: the sounds of engines echo and are amplified by the walls.

People who experienced the tunnel indicated these and other actors as more or less affective. For instance:

> When I actually tried to go, while I was waiting in my car at the traffic light, the atmosphere of Kiyotaki Tunnel was quite eerie. Since I went during the night, there were no cars coming from the other side and I felt that the time was quite long. The unusual single-lane tunnel with its peculiar and uncanny (*usukimi warui* 薄気味悪い) orange light shining, felt odd. Also, when I entered the tunnel, after the traffic light turned green, there were dirty water stains on the cracked walls and, since walls were on both sides, I had a weird sense of oppression. Then I walked through the tunnel and, although nothing happened, in that tunnel with wafting lukewarm air, the atmosphere feels like "There is something."[55]

54 Hsee et al. 2014, p. 699.

55 Haunted Places 2017. Interestingly, in the last sentence (*nanika ga iru* 何かがいる), the author uses the verb indicating the presence of living beings (*iru* いる) associated with the subject "something" (*nanika* 何か).

Figure 2. Inside Kiyotaki Tunnel, from the Kyoto side. Photograph by author. Click on the picture to experience going through Kiyotaki Tunnel in your browser.

Such accounts clearly point at the centrality of bodily feelings in experiences in the tunnel. The experience of the body-moving-in-the-tunnel is fundamental to the creation of affects, which emerge in the correspondence between the body and the affordances of the environment. Affects that emerge by moving in the tunnel are experienced as a single and coherent perception that happens at once. There is no perceived difference between the feelings of oppression caused by the walls, the sense of uneasiness given by the bending street, and the "eeriness" related to the lights. They merge all together, in one single bodily feeling. A "decomposition" and classification of this feeling into separate sensory perceptions (for example, seeing the light, hearing sounds), or worded as emotions (for example, sense of oppression, eeriness, or even fear), by relying on scientific rationalist categories, is definitely possible from an analytical perspective. Yet, this does not happen from the viewpoint of experience, and can be done only *a posteriori*. Affect is not multiple when it is experienced.

Visitors' experiences in the tunnel need to be contextualized within the whole tour, where actors strategically chosen by the organizers—such as eerie sounds and closed curtains in the bus, and the purifying salt that was distributed to visitors at the beginning—are deployed in order to strengthen experiences and expectations of eeriness.[56] In spite of these strategies, some places included in the tour "betrayed" expectations, leaving visitors disappointed at the absence of a ghostly presence.[57] At the same time, as I pointed out above, the tunnel affected also the bodies of people unrelated to the tour, such as drivers or residents of the neighboring areas. Of course, among the residents, there were also people who did not feel anything eerie or "heavy"—not to mention "ghosts"—but they were a minority.

56 See De Antoni 2011; De Antoni 2013.
57 De Antoni 2011.

It is evident that "affective correspondences" were an active, generative force in the mobilization and engagement of actors that moved together with the body, thus becoming part of the "affective meshwork." Through actual experience in the tunnel, people (including myself) started entangling other nonhumans (the light, the walls, the cracks and stains, the wafting air) into the meshwork as well, which reinforced the feeling of oppression and, in some cases, the sense that "there is something."

However, these bodily affects became possible exactly because of the material features of the tunnel, which intertwined with social practice (entering it and, therefore, moving through it). While approaching or entering it, the tunnel "forced" attention and imposed constraints on the infinite possibilities of affect that one could theoretically experience. The affordances of ghosts, then, emerged exactly from these entanglements of the bodily, the material, and the social.[58]

Consequently, the correspondence between bodies and the tunnel gave way to "affective meaning making" practices that, in a sociocultural context in which feeling a ghost is a possibility because of historical and political reasons, translated and were captured in the expression "there is something."[59] This paved the way, as I will show below, to the (re-)creation of rumors and the construction of new discourses, of new memories, and, consequently, of new power relations.

Facing the Forgotten Fallen

The second peculiarity in the case of Kiyotaki Tunnel is the idea of the spirit falling down from the roof, which is unique in Kyoto. Yet, there exists a very famous similar case, that of Jōmon 常紋 Tunnel in Hokkaido, which proved to be historically grounded. This tunnel, built on the Sekihoku 石北 main line and opened in 1914, was also the center of rumors about ghosts falling from above. Rumors attributed this to the presence of a so-called "human pillar" (*hitobashira* 人柱). This term indicates the practice of carrying out human sacrifices by burying a person alive under or near large-scale buildings such as dams, bridges, or castles, as an offering to the gods, so that the building would not be destroyed by either natural disasters or enemy attacks. There is historical evidence that this practice was carried out at least as late as the sixteenth century and that, generally speaking, sacrificial victims would be chosen from among the lower and more discriminated strata of the population. Yet, in more recent years, the term *hitobashira* started to refer to forced laborers working under inhumane conditions who were buried alive; most of them, after Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, were Koreans.[60]

In the case of the Jōmon Tunnel, the presence of the "human pillar" was considered as inherent to rumors about ghosts, not as historical "fact." Yet, the tunnel was damaged by an earthquake in 1968 and renovation work followed in 1970. When workers arrived at the tunnel, among the wall debris, they found human bones, including a damaged skull. This not only provided the rumor with historical evidence, but it also shed light on the treatment that Koreans laborers underwent.[61] Indeed, in Hokkaido, Koreans were indentured laborers

58 Gibson 1979.
59 De Antoni 2015; Wetherell 2012.
60 Muguruma 2003.
61 Koike 1973.

employed under the so-called *takobeya* タコ部屋 system, which also involved Japanese from the lower and poorer strata of society, and was characterized by low pay, temporary jobs, and exploitative working conditions. In this system, burying alive those unfit to work, or the injured, was reportedly not uncommon.[62]

Because of the striking similarities with the rumors about Kiyotaki Tunnel, I started investigating whether there might here too have been historical connections with Korean laborers. The first reply that I received was from the abbot of Otagi Nenbutsuji 愛宕念仏寺, the temple adjacent to the tunnel. A male in his forties from Osaka, the abbot acknowledged not only the haunting, but also the possibility of a connection between Korean laborers and the tunnel, since "those were the times." He also revealed that he got to hear about this from an old lady in the neighborhood, who had passed away some years before, but that "no one talks about this anymore."

Subsequently, I had a long interview with the custodian of the Saga Toriimoto Center for Townscape Preservation (Saga Toriimoto Machinami Hozonkan 嵯峨鳥居本町並み保存館), a woman in her seventies, who had lived in the area since she was born:

> I: "Do you know since when the tunnel started to be considered haunted?"
> C: "I guess since the trains disappeared."
> I: "I see… And do you know the reasons why it is considered haunted?"
> C: "Digging the tunnel was difficult, you know."
> I: "What do you mean?"
> C: "It bends, right? It seems that there were many troubles in building it… many accidents."
> I: "I see. Do you think that the people who died there may have been so-called forced laborers?"
> C: "No, I think they were not. It was prewar, right?"

The woman acknowledged the presence of ghosts as related to dead laborers, but she denied the possibility that they were "forced." Indeed, the first law on forced labor was implemented in 1939, a long time after the tunnel's completion. This does not mean, however, that the history of the Kiyotaki Tunnel is unrelated to Korean labor. Moreover, as I will show in the next section, it was also a by-product of the history of tourism in Kyoto.

Constructing Koreans in Kyoto[63]

Historical research on Kyoto has shed light on the presence of Koreans in the city, as well as on their living conditions. There is evidence of the presence of at least one Korean student in Kyoto around the beginning of the twentieth century and it is well-known that, since 1907, Koreans were employed in the construction of mountain railways.[64] During

62 Achira 2016; Morris-Suzuki 2013b.

63 I am highly indebted to Tsukasaki Masayuki's 塚崎昌之 work in this section, which was first presented during a meeting at the Kyoto Research and Resource Centre on the Buraku Issue (Kyoto Buraku Mondai Kenkyū Shiryō Sentā 京都部落問題研究資料センター), and then published as an article in 2017. To my knowledge, this is the only publication providing such specific information about the working conditions of Korean laborers in Kyoto in the 1920s. Tsukasaki 2017.

64 Takano 2009, p. 187.

the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), both Japanese and Koreans were employed as construction workers, but the Japanese were mainly engineers and in managerial positions, whereas the workers directly involved in physical labor were Koreans. The hiring system was the so-called "construction camp" (*hanba* 飯場) system, based on prime contractors who hired subcontractors (mainly Japanese) who, in turn, employed Korean "construction camp heads" (*hanba gashira* 飯場頭), under whom other indentured Korean laborers worked. Being the poorest segment of the Kyoto population, Koreans accepted any jobs and any working conditions, though this was not strictly speaking "forced labor."[65]

Furthermore, the enthronement of the Showa emperor, scheduled to be held in Kyoto in November 1928, constituted an opportunity for construction, in order to prepare the city's infrastructure for the anticipated arrival of vast numbers of tourists from all over the country. Construction work started in 1926 and relied on a labor force comprising nearly all the 5,500 Koreans employed in public works at that time. Besides the development of the railway network, in these years the Kyoto City bus company also began operations, and Kyoto Station Hotel and a new annex for Kyoto Hotel were built. This made up approximately 1.1% of the whole national budget at the time.[66]

Several railways were built during this period in a massive effort to meet the deadline for the enthronement. The New Keihan (Shinkeihan) Railway (present-day Hankyū Railway, Kyoto main line and Arashiyama line), the Kyoto–Nara line (present-day Kintetsu), the Kurama Railway (present-day Eizan Railway, Kurama line), and a ropeway that leads to Hieizan—slightly different from the present-day one, re-laid after World War II—are some examples of the new infrastructure and possibilities for tourism that were created in those years. Among these were the Atagosan Railway and Kiyotaki Tunnel, which were meant to take tourists to Atago Shrine but were too late for the enthronement.[67]

Besides the huge number of people employed, the extremely harsh working conditions and the long working hours imposed on laborers, there was limited time for completion of the construction. This had another consequence: the recruitment of inexperienced and unskilled laborers.[68] This led to an increasing number of lethal accidents all over the construction quarters. Particularly from May to November 1928, the number of deaths rose exponentially: twenty Koreans died during those seven months, equivalent to the number of laborers who died in the whole of 1927. Yet, despite the harsh situation and the fact that traveling for Koreans had been severely limited since January 1927 in order to avoid incidents during the enthronement ceremony, the number of Koreans looking for jobs in Kyoto increased. In fact, from the end of 1927 to the end of 1928, the number of Koreans in Kyoto increased by 50 percent, from 11,100 to 16,700.[69]

Due to the difficult working environment, Korean laborers started organizing strikes and protests. A number of labor-related incidents occurred, such as struggles to get decent conditions in work camps, protests against the use of violence used to speed up work, or cases of unpaid salaries. These incidents, along with media reports that gave them complete coverage, while not always covering the cases involving deaths and the reasons

65 Mizuno and Nakao 2007.
66 Tsukasaki 2017, p. 120.
67 Tsukasaki 2017. On the New Keihan Railway, see also Takano 2012.
68 Tsukasaki 2017. On the working conditions of Koreans in Kyoto, see also Takano 2009, pp. 103–32.
69 Tsukasaki 2017, p. 124.

for the protests, helped create an image of Koreans as “scary” and, in turn, fed existing discrimination. Indeed, “rather than the terrible crimes of the Japanese majority, the terrible crimes committed by the Korean minority” remained imprinted in local memory.[70]

One of the few historical references to a direct link between the Atagosan Railway and Korean laborers—an article in the Kyoto edition of the *Ōsaka Asahi* (1928)—reports on brawls resulting from the struggle for influence over the Korean working quarters at Atagosan Railway. In addition, the death of a Korean laborer due to a landslide was reported by the *Hinode shinbun* 日出新聞 on 9 September 1928.[71] Indeed, it seems that the ghosts in Kiyotaki Tunnel may be Koreans, though the local residents—and possibly even the ghosts that appear there—seem to have forgotten about this.

Visiting the Forgetful Ghost

When I interviewed the residents in the neighborhood about the tunnel, everyone acknowledged it as haunted, but the only people who linked appearances of ghosts to dead laborers were the abbot and the custodian mentioned above. I could find only one more person, a male in his seventies, who mentioned the link when the tunnel was used as a factory. His narrative is reported on the website that lists rumors.[72] As the abbot told me, “no one talks about this anymore.”

Younger residents also acknowledged that the tunnel had been haunted for a very long time, but they seemed not to know any possible reason for this, and even denied that there had been suicides:

> 1: I have no idea about when the tunnel started to be considered haunted although I have always heard it. It is not something like twenty or thirty years, it is more. However, I do not know the reason, there was nothing in particular. (Adashino Nenbutsuji, worker at the ticket office, female, late thirties)
> 2: I guess it started being considered haunted since it was not used for trains anymore… People started going through it on foot or by car, there were many accidents… But, no, nothing like one accident in particular… (Toriimoto, shopkeeper, female, late forties)
> 3: It has always been haunted. I used to hear the rumors even when I was in primary school, and I would go together with my classmates, just because it was creepy… However, I do not know why it is haunted. There is the rumor about the woman falling, right? I have no idea why: nothing in particular has ever happened. (Toriimoto, shopkeeper, male, late forties)

These interviews point to a direct relationship between residents’ age and the associations they made between the tunnel and memories about the death of laborers. Consequently, it can be inferred that, although the deaths of the laborers may have provided a clear reason for the haunting, they have gradually been obliterated and forgotten in the locality. Moreover,

70 Tsukasaki 2017, p. 122.

71 Quoted in Tsukasaki 2017, p. 137. Mizuno Naoki 水野直樹 from Kyoto University, one of the most renowned specialists in the history of Koreans in Kyoto, reports that carrying out historical research about the area of Kiyotaki Tunnel is extremely difficult due to a lack of sources (personal communication).

72 *koto × koto KYOTO* 2017.

even in cases in which people linked the tunnel to the death of workers, the fact that they were Koreans, and the issues related to discrimination, were not taken into consideration. Nevertheless, the tunnel continued to be considered haunted by younger generations, thus confirming my previous argument that "affective correspondences" with the tunnel and its affordances play a fundamental role in experiences with ghosts. In fact, the tunnel acquired a reputation as haunted when people began going through it, another confirmation that affective correspondences have been central in the haunting as an "affective meshwork" and visiting as an "affective practice." This centrality also proves that practices related to ghosts go well beyond cognition and belief: not knowing the reason why ghosts appear did not prevent the shopkeeper from experiencing ghastly presences.

Moreover, although the origin of the haunting itself was generally linked back to a period previous to World War II, the history of war was also inscribed in it. Since the tunnel was reallocated for the use of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries during the war, its connection with Korean laborers—this time no longer indentured, but legally "forced"—was kept. At the same time, this reallocation prevented locals from entering it and, consequently, being affected by it and its ghosts.

Yet, from when the tunnel was first acknowledged as haunted—in spite of the historical persistence of perceptions of ghosts—various actors have appropriated and manipulated rumors, memories, and historical narratives about past discrimination and suffering connected to the tunnel's past. Such narratives have been substituted with different and newer ones, if not obliterated as in the case of those of the local neighborhood. Thus, the "weapons of the weak" were silenced: discourses of discrimination and suffering have ended up annihilated and assimilated into the hegemonic discourse.[73]

Nonetheless, the tunnel started attracting translocal flows of "outsiders," affecting the bodies and perceptions of those who traversed it, involving them in new social practices, such as tourism or "courage testing." The affordances of ghosts that emerged from moving in the tunnel pushed people to investigate reasons for the haunting. These new practices carried out by "outsiders" have created the potential for "unearthing" or recreating the spirits of laborers, while returning them from the hole of forgetfulness in which they were buried by the locals, and reviving them to official history through the Internet. It is as if this hole—the tunnel—resisted the forgetting of its own makers, sending them back and voicing them through the bodies that move in it. Possibly, the tunnel will sooner or later release their Korean identity.

The End of the Tunnel

In this article, I have provided an analysis of the haunting of Kiyotaki Tunnel through an approach that links bodily perceptions, affective practices and correspondences, with processes of the creation of social memory and forgetfulness, hence with discourse and power relations. From a theoretical perspective, I have shown that the concept of affordance is a useful bridge between non-representational affect theory and an analysis focusing on processes of discourse production. Conversely, this focus on the generation of discourses as part of "affective meshworks" that emerge through practice and correspondence between the body and the (material) environment sheds light also on the relationship of power and

73 Scott 1985.

memory, in particular, the asymmetric negotiations between different social groups that determine who is able to appropriate the memory of specific deaths and places.

This article has also highlighted one of the possible ways in which war history can be contested in contemporary Japan, as well as the complex intertwinements of "history wars."[74] Indeed, although there is no deterministic relationship between haunted places and war, and Kiyotaki Tunnel might be seen as part of a very small set of exceptions, this specific case has shown that its haunting can be understood only in relation to the broader war project. This long project involved the entanglement of ideologies of modernization and development—of Kyoto as a city, but also as Japan as a nation and empire—with the state, the emperor, and his enthronement. Such ideologies entangled with processes of tourism development, the construction of infrastructure, the subsequent mobility of the labor force and tourists, the capitalization of labor, and the escalation in military production that accompanied war.

Practices of discrimination and their relationship to the media also played a fundamental role in these entanglements. Nevertheless, from a discursive perspective, the ghosts in Kiyotaki Tunnel do not merely tell a story of Korean victims as opposed to Japanese perpetrators; they help narrate the haunting atrocities that ideologies and the capitalization of labor can create and support, reminding the people who sense the ghosts of the violence on which all modern nation-states and liberal democracies were built and rest.[75]

Even more importantly, this article has shown that a focus on tourism as an "affective practice" and on the creation of meshworks with affordances in specific environments, memories, and discourses can be useful for an understanding of the experiences of visitors to places related to war and death, beyond political and discursive aspects. This approach focusing on affective correspondence with the environment and on "affective meaning making" can help explain how tourists' experiences and practices can, in turn, actively shape discourses and places. Consequently, this approach can contribute to the study of war tourism and memory, that is, of how "history" and "heritage" are constructed through and influence practice; and, more broadly, it advances critical understanding of the controversial field of "dark tourism."

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74 Morris-Suzuki 2013a; Seaton 2007.
75 Asad 2007.

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Islands of "Dark" and "Light/Lite" Tourism: War-Related Contents Tourism around the Seto Inland Sea

Philip SEATON

This article examines the phenomenon of war-related contents tourism on five small islands in the area of the Seto Inland Sea. While the majority of Japan's densely populated metropolitan areas have complex war histories and networks of commemorative sites and/or tourist sites, small islands are associated with a singular war experience or memory that sustains a tourist attraction on the island. Focusing on such islands allows insights into the ways in which films, novels, games, and other forms of popular culture induce tourism to war-related sites. First, the concept of war-related contents tourism is defined via a critique of the in-vogue concept of dark tourism and its Japanese counterpart, *dāku tsūrizumu*. Then, the dynamics of war-related tourism are depicted in five island case studies: Ōkunoshima (Hiroshima prefecture, "Rabbit Island" and site of a poison gas factory), Shōdoshima (Kagawa prefecture, setting of the novel/film *Twenty-four Eyes*), Okinoshima (Wakayama prefecture, a coastal gun battery popular now as a site of cosplay), Ōzushima (Yamaguchi prefecture, a training base for *kaiten* suicide attack submarines), and Nōmishima (Hiroshima prefecture, site of the Etajima Naval Academy). These islands are also examples of media tourism or contents tourism, where the representation of the history in entertainment formats or the promotion of tourism for "leisure and pleasure" has made the war-related tourism seem more akin to "light/lite tourism" than "dark tourism."

Keywords: war-related tourism, dark tourism, contents tourism, heritage tourism, popular culture, Japan, Seto Inland Sea, Asia-Pacific War, cosplay, cinema

Introduction

War is not simply a destructive form of mass organized violence for the pursuit of political, strategic, or other goals. It is a period of intense creativity during which new technologies, artistic expression, and social/political structures emerge. The tourism industry has been arguably one of the greatest beneficiaries of war's creative forces. There are countless examples worldwide of battlefields, monuments, museums, fortresses, and other sites related

to war that have become important tourist resources. These sites may become key local attractions and sustain peaceful economic and cultural activity long after the bloodshed has ceased.

The temporal relationship of tourism to war develops through four main stages. The first stage is tourism to the warzone actually during the war. Such tourism is dangerous, but in the days of pitched battles between armies, war could even become a spectator event. For example, many non-combatants traveled to witness the Battle of Waterloo in 1815.[1] The second stage is tourism in the immediate aftermath of war. It can be sightseeing (whether triumphal or voyeuristic) to sites of recent combat and/or commemorative travel to mourn loved ones who perished.[2] The third stage is the touristification of war-related sites. Monuments, memorials, parks, and museums are created to commemorate events and attract visitors who learn of the events that happened there. The final stage usually occurs around a generational shift at significant temporal distance from the events. Representations of history in media and popular culture generate new meanings and patterns of tourism.

This article focuses on tourism in Japan relating to the Asia-Pacific War (1931–1945) during this fourth stage. Beyond the seventieth anniversary of the war's end, the postwar generations are the primary war-related tourist market. These generations lack personal experiences of war, so the transmission and guardianship of memories within families (Hirsch's notion of "postmemory") and media narratives in television, cinema, anime, and manga play leading roles in shaping their cultural memories.[3] When media or popular culture representations induce tourism to war-related sites, war-related tourism overlaps with media tourism, film-induced tourism, or contents tourism.[4]

This article identifies examples of war-related contents tourism on islands around the Seto Inland Sea. Small islands are ideal sites for observing war-related contents tourism and the interactions between war history and local identity.[5] In any location, war-related tourism may be quantified via visitor numbers to war-related sites. But small, clearly demarcated geographical areas containing a single prominent war narrative are the easiest places to draw reliable conclusions about the extent of tourism changes in response to a specific factor, such as a work of popular culture. By contrast, major urban areas and tourist destinations are

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1 Seaton 1999.

2 For example, tourism by Japanese in the late 1930s to sites of recent fighting in China. Kushner 2006; Ruoff 2010; Ruoff 2014.

3 Hashimoto 2015; Hirsch 2012; Seaton 2007.

4 Media tourism is the broadest term and covers both creative works in any format (such as audiovisual, print, and digital) as well as news, currents affairs, and social media (Reijnders 2011; Seaton et al. 2017). Beeton's definition of film-induced tourism covers the moving image across cinema, television and digital platforms (Beeton 2016). Contents tourism, *kontentsu tsūrizumu* コンテンツ ツーリズム, originated as a concept in Japan and eschews specification of the media format. Instead it focuses on "the contents," namely the narratives, characters, locations, and other creative elements of works of popular culture. The concept emerged out of the high levels of multiuse of sets of contents across media platforms, particularly in the anime and manga industries.

5 There have been significant studies of war memories on the large islands at Japan's peripheries of Hokkaido and Okinawa. However, these are complex regional case studies encompassing issues of colonial and war memories, histories of large-scale land/sea/air battles (Karafuto/Kurils and the Battle of Okinawa), center–periphery relations, ethnicity (Ainu and Ryūkyū narratives), and postwar territorial disputes (Northern Territories dispute, reversion of Okinawa, and the Senkaku Islands dispute). The islands chosen for this study, by contrast, are highly localized cases in Japan's geographical and cultural heartlands. For Hokkaido, see Seaton 2016; for Okinawa, particularly relating to tourism, see Figal 2012.

Figure 1. Map of the Seto Inland Sea and the five islands. Produced using Google Maps.

affected by too many variables for the impact of works of popular culture to be identifiable.[6] The Inland Sea area, therefore, is an ideal cluster of sites for investigating war-related contents tourism. Using the principles of media content analysis (the parameters of the research area are set in advance, and data is then harvested within the parameters using a predetermined method), first I investigated remotely (online and using travel guidebooks) islands across the Inland Sea for 1) the presence of war-related sites that actively seek to attract visitors, and 2) evidence of contents tourism, namely visitation that is partially or fully motivated by the narratives, characters, locations, and other creative elements of mediatized popular culture. I identified five islands that met both criteria and then visited them during fieldwork in October 2016 for on-site observation and data collection (primarily tourism statistics both for individual tourist sites and municipal/regional data).

The islands (from east to west) are:

1) Okinoshima 沖ノ島: Part of the Tomogashima 友ヶ島 island group at the entrance to Osaka Bay. It has gun battery remains and became popular as a site of cosplay because of its resemblance to Laputa in the anime film *Tenkū no shiro Rapyuta* 天空の城ラピュタ (*Laputa: Castle in the Sky*; 1986).
2) Shōdoshima 小豆島: The second largest island in the Seto Inland Sea. It was the home of author Tsuboi Sakae 壺井栄 and the setting and shooting location for the novel/films/dramas *Nijūshi no hitomi* 二十四の瞳 (*Twenty-four Eyes*), her classic antiwar story of the 1950s.
3) Ōkunoshima 大久野島: The site of a poison gas factory during the war. It is now popularly known as "Rabbit Island" after social media users posted videos online of the hundreds of rabbits that roam the island.
4) Nōmishima 能美島: Site of Japan's naval academy in Etajima 江田島. The academy has been used as a location for numerous scenes in naval films/dramas and contains the Naval History Museum.
5) Ōzushima 大津島: Also known as "Kaiten Island," Ōzushima was a training base for Japan's *tokkō* 特攻 (special attack, or kamikaze) submarine force. This history has

6 See Seaton 2015 (especially pp. 96–98) for discussion of this issue regarding data collection in Hakodate, Kōchi, Hino, and Kyoto in relation to Taiga Drama tourism.

been portrayed in various films, most recently *Deguchi no nai umi* 出口のない海 (*Sea Without Exit*; 2006), which has scenes shot on the island.

The narratives presented on these islands are diverse; one might even say disjointed. But this in itself is an important insight: even geographically similar localities at relatively close proximity to each other can acquire distinct localized cultural memories via divergent war experiences. Furthermore, the narratives at the sites visited depict Japanese alternatively as heroes, perpetrators, and victims, and may be categorized on an ideological spectrum from nationalism (Etajima) to progressivism (Ōkunoshima).[7] Hence, the Inland Sea is an ideal "laboratory" for research into war-related contents tourism. The islands' narratives collectively constitute a microcosm of Japan's contested war memories, and as tourist sites they are ideal locations (small and isolated, each with a distinctive narrative) for observing the processes and levels of war-related contents tourism.

Before turning to these case studies, however, war-related contents tourism will be presented in more theoretical terms with reference to the in-vogue concept of "dark tourism," defined by Richard Sharpley and Philip R. Stone as "the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre."[8] War-related tourism has often been discussed as a form of dark tourism and some publications addressing tourism and war in Japan have treated it and dark tourism as almost interchangeable terms.[9] The case studies in this article, however, examine visitation at war-related sites where there is evidence that some tourists, and at some sites even a majority of tourists, have been motivated to visit by mediatized works of entertainment. The tourism, therefore, revolves more around "leisure and pleasure" (or at its most serious "education and remembrance"), rather than anything that might be convincingly termed "dark." Dark's antonym light implies brightness (inspiration) and enlightenment (education), and "lite" (used in this article as the antonym of heavy) implies entertaining and upbeat. The presence of "light/lite" war-related tourists, it will be argued, challenges simple assumptions that dark tourism is a useful framework for analyzing war-related tourism, and simultaneously indicates the increasingly important role that mediatized entertainment plays in sustaining visitation at war-related sites in Japan as the war slips ever further into the past.

"Dark/Light/Lite" Tourism: A Japan-Based Critique

The term "dark tourism" was coined in 1996 by Malcolm Foley and J. John Lennon.[10] The back cover of their book *Dark Tourism* states: "A large number of sites associated with war, genocide, assassination and other tragic events have become significant tourist destinations. The authors of this volume call this phenomenon 'dark tourism.'"[11] Defined in this way, war-related tourism is explicitly positioned as a form of dark tourism. But Lennon and Foley's formulation does not simply make war-related tourism synonymous with dark

7 Nationalism and progressivism are used here as defined in Seaton 2007, pp. 20–28. Nationalism refers to a positive assessment of Japanese war aims and conduct, while progressivism refers to a critical assessment of both war aims and conduct.
8 Sharpley 2009, p. 10.
9 For example, Eades and Cooper 2013; Funck and Cooper 2013.
10 Foley and Lennon 1996.
11 Lennon and Foley 2010.

tourism. They identify three critical features of dark tourism: first, "global communication technologies play a major part in creating the initial interest"; second, "the objects of dark tourism themselves appear to introduce anxiety and doubt about the project of modernity"; and third, "the educative elements of sites are accompanied by elements of commodification and a commercial ethic." There is also a temporal dimension. Dark tourism occurs in response to death and disaster within modern memory, and Lennon and Foley give a "relatively arbitrary" chronological starting point of such death and disaster with the sinking of the Titanic in 1912.[12]

Dark tourism is an alluring term, but theoretical and methodological problems emerged, particularly surrounding whether it was supply side factors (the type of site) or demand side factors (the tourists' motivations) that made the tourism "dark."[13] In addressing criticisms of what constitutes a "dark" site, Sharpley and Stone's 2009 edited volume *The Darker Side of Travel* moves away from solely "dark" tourism and presents a spectrum of dark to light tourism. Stone contrasts "sites of death and suffering" at the darker end with "sites associated with death and suffering" at the lighter end and presents a typography of seven "dark suppliers": dark fun factories (horror attractions such as the London Dungeon), dark exhibitions (such as the Body Worlds exhibition of preserved corpses), dark dungeons (prisons and crime), dark resting places (cemeteries), dark shrines (memorials to the deceased), dark conflict sites (battlefields), and dark camps of genocide (particularly Holocaust-related).[14] The result is a plethora of shades—darkest, light, pale, grey, "lighter form of dark tourism"—leading Bowman and Pezzullo to ask "What's so 'Dark' about 'Dark Tourism'?"[15]

Many scholars focusing on demand-side factors have preferred Tony Seaton's term "thanatourism" to "dark tourism." Thanatourism is defined as "travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death, which may to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are its focal objects."[16] In this formulation, thanatourism tends to be voyeuristic, and is a decidedly niche activity. More typically, the motivations of visitors at war-related sites are better categorized as forms of cultural or heritage tourism. Many heritage sites were sites of significant death and suffering, but even regarding visitation to Nazi death camps (one of the key case studies in the "dark tourism" literature), Biran, Porio, and Oren concluded that for most people "the motives for visiting Auschwitz are similar to those for visiting a 'regular,' not dark, heritage site."[17]

War-related tourism is a diverse phenomenon when considered from supply side and demand side perspectives. On the supply side, war-related sites can fall into any of Stone's categories of "dark suppliers," although dark often seems an inappropriate term. There are many war-related sites that avoid representations of death and focus on "bright" themes such as victory, heroism, patriotism, and technological achievement. If death is represented, it is the positive virtues of dead soldiers as individuals rather than the grim details of their deaths

12 Lennon and Foley 2010, pp. 8–12.
13 See also the discussion in Andrea de Antoni's article in this special edition.
14 Sharpley 2009, p. 21, citing Stone 2006.
15 Bowman and Pezzullo 2010.
16 Seaton 1996, p. 240.
17 Biran, Poria, and Oren 2011, p. 836.

that are displayed. Patriotic military museums and monuments often fall into this category. The Naval History Museum at Etajima and Kaiten Museum on Ōzushima both conform to this pattern. Other war-related sites, meanwhile, focus on everyday *life* under wartime conditions. Examples here include the sites relating to *Nijūshi no hitomi* and the numerous local history museums in Japan that depict life on the home front during the war years.

On the demand side, the harrowing images and displays of death that can exist in war-related exhibits (such as in the Poison Gas Museum (Ōkunoshima doku gasu shiryōkan 大久野島毒ガス資料館) on Ōkunoshima) may attract some voyeurs, but war-related sites clearly do not aim to encourage voyeuristic thanatourism in the way that "dark fun factories" (such as the London Dungeon) do. As Lennon and Foley's original formulation of dark tourism makes clear, there is an important temporal aspect to dark tourism. An attraction containing waxwork figure reconstructions of medieval torture is far enough removed from the concerns of contemporary society to be socially acceptable. A waxwork figure reconstruction of torture scenes in a Nazi death camp packaged as "gruesome fun," by contrast, crosses all boundaries of taste and decency. Ultimately, where the transition between "dark" and "lighter shade of dark" or "gruesome fun" and "grossly offensive" occurs depends on the nature of the deaths being portrayed and their historical and temporal relationships to contemporary society.

Dāku Tsūrizumu in Japan

Despite various problems, the term "dark tourism" has made its way into Japanese. Japan was linked to dark tourism discourse from an early stage. Indeed, Lennon and Foley's book *Dark Tourism* opens with descriptions of wartime Japanese sites in Indonesia, but dark tourism as a concept was first introduced in Japanese-language scholarship in 2008.[18] It gained widespread attention after the 11 March 2011 Tōhoku earthquake, tsunami, and Fukushima nuclear power station disaster (hereafter "3/11"), and the prominence of natural disasters is a characteristic of dark tourism discourse in Japan. The main publications focusing on Japan are a set of "mooks" (magazine books) targeting a general readership. Ide Akira 井出明, the driving force behind the Dark Tourism Japan project, defines dark tourism as "travel related to memories of human sadness including war and disaster."[19] This diverges significantly from definitions in the English-language literature. The memories relate primarily to "sadness" (*kanashimi* 悲しみ) rather than death; and natural disaster features more prominently in the definition. Like many academic concepts originating outside Japan, dark tourism has been adopted as a katakana loan word: *dāku tsūrizumu* ダークツーリズム. Using the most common Japanese words for "dark" and "tourism" would give the somewhat contradictory term *kurai kankō* 暗い観光 (a term not used in practice) containing a juxtaposition of "暗" (dark) and "光" (light): the etymology of *kankō* is a phrase in *I Ching* (*The Book of Changes*) which means "Look at the light=glory of the kingdom."[20]

Dāku tsūrizumu discourse also assumes a progressive, polemical tone in Japan. Ide advocates dark tourism as beneficial because tourists engage with the "dark side" (*dāku saido* ダークサイド) of Japanese history. It presents dark tourism as educational and enlightening

18 Ide 2014, p. 217; according to Ide, the first article mentioning dark tourism was Funck 2008.
19 Ide 2015, p. 4.
20 Seaton et al. 2017, p.3.

rather than voyeuristic. Examples of dark tourism include industrial heritage sites tainted by histories of forced labor, political repression, or pollution; leper colonies; the graves of executed class A war criminals; and overseas sites such as Chernobyl.[21] *Dāku tsūrizumu* feeds on the ideological assumptions of progressives that facing "dark history" is beneficial, while nationalists promoting a bright version of the nation's history seem uninterested in the term.

In addition to these discrepancies between formulations of dark tourism in the Japanese- and English-language contexts, a critique of dark tourism in a Japanese context also reveals how the temporal context of dark tourism is culturally constructed. Lennon and Foley identify 1912 as an arbitrary starting point for world events triggering dark tourism, but this is Eurocentric. In Japan, modern history—the period for which there is "anxiety and doubt about the project of modernity"—typically refers to the Meiji period (1868–1912) onwards.[22] In Ide's Dark Tourism Japan project, therefore, sites depicting the convict labor used to build roads in Hokkaido in the 1880s fall within the scope of dark tourism. This temporal variable generates further levels of definitional subjectivity: in any culture, sites which are or have been "dark" metamorphose into "light/lite" as they slip further into the past, but the "anxiety" regarding what events from any given year in the past say about "modernity" varies greatly from culture to culture.

As in the English-language literature, *dāku tsūrizumu* has stirred controversy in Japan. Some have seen the benefit of the term. For example, following 3/11, the Dark Tourism Sendai project website (http://dmp.co.jp/dark-tourism-sendai/) was established. It takes site visitors on video tours around the tsunami-devastated zones. The website admits "*dāku tsūrizumu*" is used to attract interest. Others, meanwhile, have opposed the term. Ōmori Shinjirō 大森信次郎 cites six objections to using *dāku tsūrizumu* for tourism in Tōhoku post-3/11: the term's negative image, diversity of interpretation, the objections of those traveling to disaster areas, objections of the destinations welcoming tourists, obstacles to researchers' fieldwork, and the risk of inhibiting disaster zone recovery via tourism. Ōmori suggests alternatives such as *fukkō tsūrizumu* 復興ツーリズム (recovery tourism) or *inoru tabi* 祈る旅 (prayer tourism [sic]).[23] These alternative terms suggest that Ōmori's opposition to *dāku tsūrizumu* is more on pragmatic grounds (namely how to encourage the right sort of tourism to help disaster zones) rather than theoretical or semantic grounds. Nevertheless, Ōmori's critiques provoked a response from Ide via his ResearchMap (a researcher database) page, where he stated that such debates surrounding the term had already taken place in English, dark tourism was established terminology, and Ōmori's alternatives were part of dark tourism theory and writing anyway.[24]

Demand Side Factors of War-related Tourism

In short, war-related tourism is not synonymous with dark tourism, and dark tourism has come to mean slightly different things in its Japanese- and English-language contexts. The use of "dark" opens up various assumptions and subjectivities relating to how "dark" and/or "light/lite" the tourist sites, experiences, and motivations are. The result is a term that is

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21 *Dark tourism Japan* 2015a; *Dark tourism Japan* 2015b.
22 Lennon and Foley 2010, p. 11.
23 Ōmori 2012, p. 30.
24 Ide 2012.

subjective regarding its ideological, cultural, and temporal dimensions, and that fudges the important distinction between supply-side (site type) and demand-side (visitor motivation) factors.[25] While recognizing the contribution that dark tourism discourse has made in illuminating many key issues within tourism studies, in the case studies that follow I largely eschew the terminology of "dark/light/lite tourism". Instead, I use war-related tourism (a non-ideological, supply-side phenomenon stating simply that the site has a connection to the Asia-Pacific War) categorized according to three main demand-side factors:

1) Thanatourism: People search out voyeuristic or chilling tourism experiences connected to death, suffering, and the macabre (for example, the ghost tours and "experiential and affective aspects of places related to death" described by Andrea de Antoni in this special edition);
2) Heritage tourism: People visit sites for their historical, cultural, and educational value. However, there is an ideological dimension within heritage tourism. More nationalistic sites, visitors, and experiences focus on bright views of national history and inspirational stories that enhance national identity. More progressive sites, visitors, and experiences focus on enlightenment or education about the past, including the "dark sides" of history;
3) Contents tourism: People use war-related tourism to further an interest in consumed works of mediatized entertainment.[26]

Five Islands of War-related Contents Tourism

In light of the above theoretical discussion, the five island case studies of war-related contents tourism will now be discussed. These days, the role of popular culture in triggering war-related tourism, particularly among the young (the second postwar generation and beyond), is attracting more attention among researchers and tourism practitioners.[27] The case studies here provide further evidence of this trend.

The islands are discussed in order from progressive to nationalist according to the historical narrative presented in the site. The first site is the poison gas factory on Ōkunoshima, which gives a progressive condemnation of Japanese chemical warfare. Next is the novel *Nijūshi no hitomi* and sites on Shōdoshima, which convey an antiwar message based on the suffering of Japanese civilians. The gun battery ruins and tourism triggered by an unrelated anime on Okinoshima are non-ideological and are therefore the middle case study. In its commemoration of the sacrifice of suicide submariners, the Kaiten Museum on

25 Such shortcomings of the term "dark tourism" are recognized even by its proponents. Sharpley and Stone, for example, finish their book with the conclusion that, "What has emerged from this book is the sense that, in some ways, 'dark tourism' is an unhelpful term." Sharpley and Stone 2009, p. 249.

26 "War-related tourism" is the term used by Butler and Suntikul. They largely side-step discussion of dark tourism in an implicit rather than explicit critique, although they do note that "studies on 'dark tourism' generally do not focus on the relationships between war and tourism but primarily on the aftermath of war and conflict, along with the appeal of death sites and other examples of tragedies and brutality." Butler and Suntikul 2013, p. 4.

27 For a full discussion, see the special edition of the *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, "War, Popular Culture, and Contents Tourism in East Asia." Seaton 2018a. A particularly clear example is the role of popular culture in sustaining tourism at sites related to the kamikaze as discussed in Seaton 2018b. On this topic, see also the article by Fukuma in this special edition.

Figure 2. A group of school children walk past the Poison Gas Museum on Ōkunoshima. Photograph by author.

Ōzushima leans towards conservatism. Most nationalistic, and also most commercialized in terms of using mediatized popular culture to attract visitors, is the final island, Nōmishima (Etajima).

Ōkunoshima

At first glance, Ōkunoshima fits the image of a "dark site." During the war, it was the site of a poison gas factory. The chemical weapons made on Ōkunoshima killed thousands in China during the war and took a terrible health toll on local people who worked in the factory. The ruins of the military facilities are scattered around the island, including the power plant, storage areas, and gun batteries, and there are memorials to the workers who were injured or killed. A museum narrating the factory's history displays artifacts such as workers' clothing and harrowing pictures of people killed and injured by chemical weapons, not only during World War II but also conflicts such as the Iran-Iraq War. Of all the sites, Ōkunoshima provides the most explicit encounter with death and suffering.

After the war, the island underwent a major transformation from top-secret military facility to holiday resort. In 1963, Kyūkamura Ōkunoshima opened as part of a nationwide network of *kyūkamura* 休暇村 (holiday villages). The paths connecting the military installations became hiking courses; the spaces cleared by the military made way for tennis courts; and the port facilities provided access for visitors. The addition of a visitor center describing nature in the Setonaikai National Park and accommodation facilities completed the island's makeover from military site to tourist site. On the day that I visited there was a large school group. The island is a compact site for *shūgaku ryokō* 修学旅行 (school trips) with opportunities for history, nature, and physical education all within the one site.

In recent years Ōkunoshima has also attracted inbound tourists. There are around seven hundred rabbits roaming free on the island. The rabbits are not connected to the poison gas factory (rabbits used for testing were killed after the war), and it is not known exactly where they all came from. But, with few natural predators and many tourists keen

Figure 3. Dark and lite. A rabbit poses in front of the memorial to people who died while working at the poison gas factory. Photograph by author.

to feed them, rabbit numbers have grown since the 1970s. Recently, videos posted on social media sites like YouTube have spread the word about Ōkunoshima internationally. International visitor numbers shot up from 378 people in 2013, to 5,564 people in 2014, and 17,215 people in 2015.[28] The ferry terminal at Tadanoumi 忠海 and Hiroshima prefecture's tourism literature promotes Ōkunoshima as "Rabbit Island" (figure 4) rather than "Poison Gas Island." The result is an intriguing juxtaposition of somber and fluffy, dark and lite.

The island's rebranding and rebirth as "Rabbit Island" has changed the nature of the war-related tourism on Ōkunoshima. The museum opened in 1988, and in the 1990s it had 55,000–65,000 visitors a year. Into the early 2000s, the numbers had dropped to 20,000–30,000. In pre-"Rabbit Island" days, these visitors were more likely to be purposeful war-related tourists seeking to learn about the island's history or those on memorial pilgrimages. Then came the boom fueled by images of the rabbits on social media. By 2014 the total number of visitors to the island increased to 186,000 from around 152,000 in 2010. Visitors to the Poison Gas Museum also recovered to 49,490.[29] It can be assumed many of these tourists are primarily on Ōkunoshima for the rabbits, and visit the museum as "sightseeing tourists" (just doing the sights), "casual tourists" (visiting with little specific interest), or "serendipitous tourists" (largely unaware of the island's history, but interested when they are confronted with it).[30]

Ōkunoshima, therefore, has seen a rapid rise in war-related tourism at the museum and more generally the ruins of the wartime poison gas factory. Examining demand side factors reveals this is largely a by-product of a rabbit-related social media boom. The museum has graphic depictions of death, but there is no obvious evidence of thanatouristic motivations among visitors. Most appear to be "incidental" or "sightseeing" heritage tourists. Furthermore, while there is clear evidence of increased war-related tourism induced by social media, there is no specific evidence of war-related contents tourism because the tourism is not triggered by a mediatized work of popular culture entertainment, such as an anime. Indeed, sites like Ōkunoshima pose challenging questions about whether any progressive war-related sites with graphic images of death and/or atrocity could ever actively seek to

28 *Chūgoku shinbun* 2016.
29 *Chūgoku shinbun* 2015.
30 Purposeful, incidental, sightseeing, and serendipitous tourists are categories proposed by McKercher and du Cros in relation to cultural tourism. McKercher and du Cros 2009, pp. 140, 144.

Figure 4. The ferry terminal for "Rabbit Island." Photograph by author.

benefit from contents tourism without completely sacrificing their hard-hitting educational messages in favor of a voyeuristic experience marketed at the thanatourist.

Ultimately, Ōkunoshima defies simple categorization as a "dark," "light," or "lite" tourist site. The current international appeal of Ōkunoshima complicates the discussion even further as international visitors (particularly Chinese and Koreans) may view a site that depicts a "dark side" of Japanese war history as a bright, positive thing. What constitutes dark and light is subjective and culturally constructed. Ultimately, Ōkunoshima is a clear example of a modern tourist site made possible by war: the military infrastructure is an attraction in itself, and also enables travel to and around the island. Tourism on Ōkunoshima is also emblematic of a postwar generational shift, whereby war-related sites are assigned new meanings by new generations of tourists that are shared via new technologies to create new patterns of tourism. Nevertheless, while its tourism boom is better categorized as "media tourism" than contents tourism, Ōkunoshima encapsulates the phenomenon that interests tourism practitioners regarding contents tourism: mediatized culture can suddenly trigger an unexpected boom and open up new markets for existing destinations.

Shōdoshima

Whereas Ōkunoshima does not, strictly speaking, have contents tourism, the second case study is an archetypal success story of contents tourism. Shōdoshima is the second largest island in the Seto Inland Sea with a population of just under thirty thousand in 2016. It is famous for its olive groves and soy sauce production. During the war, Shōdoshima hosted a midget submarine training base, and some infrastructure (jetties) and commemorative sites (memorial stones) remain today. However, these sites have not undergone touristification and function primarily as memorial sites. The most famous war story on Shōdoshima, which generated its major war-related tourist attraction, is fictional: the novel *Nijūshi no hitomi* (1952) by Tsuboi Sakae.

Nijūshi no hitomi is a classic antiwar novel depicting the tragedy of war. In 1928, a young teacher, Miss Oishi, is posted to the small branch school in the southeast of the

island. She teaches twelve elementary school children (the twenty-four eyes) and forms a strong bond with them, despite having to leave soon after arriving because of a leg injury sustained during a prank by the children. The story ends after the war with a reunion between the surviving children and teacher. All have experienced hardship and bereavement of some form. The novel does not engage with larger questions about the war but presents the themes of "victim's history" or "sentimental humanism."[31] The preface to the English translation argues: "[Tsuboi's] may be a rather naive kind of pacifism based simply on hatred of war and love of humanity, but precisely for that reason she succeeded in making *Nijūshi no hitomi* a touching and convincing novel."[32]

Tsuboi (1899–1967) grew up on Shōdoshima. The novel has been filmed twice (1954 and 1987), and adapted for television, manga, and other formats. This multiuse of the contents has contributed to the novel's enduring appeal. The major tourist sight is the Twenty-four Eyes Movie Studio (Nijūshi no hitomi eiga mura 二十四の瞳映画村), which contains the sets and locations for the 1987 film (figures 5 and 6) and the Tsuboi Sakae Memorial Museum (Tsuboi Sakae Bungakukan 壺井栄文学館).[33] Other smaller sites include the original branch school (Misaki no Bunkyōjō 岬の分教場, a location for the 1954 film), the Tsuboi Sakae birthplace garden, and literary monuments with inscriptions from Tsuboi's works. The story has come to represent not only Shōdoshima town (where the movie studio is) but also Shōdoshima Island as a whole: a monument welcomes visitors off the ferry at the island's main port in Tonoshō 土庄 town on the other side of the island (figure 7).

The importance of the movie studio within Shōdoshima's tourism sector is evident in figure 8. The movie studio is one of the island's two main attractions, along with the Kankakei 寒霞渓 ropeway. Together they account for just under half of the 1.1–1.2 million visitors at Shōdoshima's main sites. War-related contents tourism, therefore, is either the main motivation for visiting Shōdoshima ("purposeful contents tourism"), or it is a major component of the standard sightseeing itinerary ("sightseeing contents tourism"). The aggregate visitor numbers strongly suggest that there was a contents tourism boom in 1988–1989, the year after the 1987 film was released. However, tourism in the Seto Inland Sea area cannot be understood without reference to the Honshū-Shikoku Bridge Project: the Seto Ōhashi 瀬戸大橋 (Great Seto Bridge, Okayama to Kagawa) opened in 1988, the Akashi Kaikyō Ōhashi 明石海峡大橋 (Akashi Straits Bridge, Hyogo to Awaji Island) opened in 1998, and the Shimanami Kaidō しまなみ海道 (Nishiseto Expressway, Hiroshima to Ehime) opened in 1999. While there are no bridges to Shōdoshima, the 1988–1989 boom could also be linked to the large number of extra visitors to Kagawa prefecture following the opening of the Seto Ōhashi. Thereafter, there is no evidence of booms as a result of the television drama adaptations of *Nijūshi no hitomi* in 2005 and 2013. The spikes in total visitor numbers in 2010 and 2013 are a result of the Setouchi Triennale, an art festival held on islands across the Inland Sea area.

The remarkable feature of the Twenty Four Eyes Movie Studio is its consistency and longevity. Its visitor numbers fluctuate in the 190,000–230,000 people per year range.

31 Orr 2001, pp. 109–16.
32 Miura 1983, p. iv.
33 Twenty-four Eyes Movie Studio Website: http://24hitomi.or.jp/en/

Figure 5. The branch school set in the Twenty-four Eyes Movie Studio. Photograph by author.

Figure 6. The various cinematic and literary displays within the Movie Studio clearly identify the attraction as a site of contents tourism. Photograph by author.

Figure 7. The Twenty-four Eyes monument at Tonoshō Port. Photograph by author.

There are countless examples of open set attractions in Japan that have floundered after a few years when interest in the film/drama has waned.[34] The quality of the contents—namely the enduring appeal of Tsuboi's novel, the resonance of its antiwar message, and the periodic screen adaptations—are part of the explanation for the site's sustainability. But, it seems most likely that the secret of the movie studio's success is its situation on a little island. Access to Shōdoshima is only by ferry. Tourists are naturally restricted within the area of the island until their return journey. Many spend at least one night there, leaving a whole day or more to see the major sights. The movie studio is one of the major sights. In other words, there are many "sightseeing contents tourists" who visit primarily because it is on the standard itinerary in Shōdoshima. From the island's point of view, *Nijūshi no hitomi* has transformed from "local contents" to "local heritage." It is an indispensable and proud part of the island's history and identity. It may be war-related and the story may recount tales of death and tragedy, but it defies categorization as dark.

Okinoshima

The third case study, Okinoshima, has many similarities with the first case study, Ōkunoshima, in that it was an island with military facilities during the war, which converted into a tourist site in the postwar. However, the cases differ in two important regards: first, the wartime ruins on Okinoshima have no connection to death, and therefore do not meet the qualifications of a dark tourism site; and second, the recent tourism boom on Okinoshima was triggered by an anime, and therefore constitutes a clear example of contents tourism.

In the straits between the Kii Peninsula and Awaji Island is the Tomogashima Island group. It comprises four small islands: Okinoshima, Jinoshima 地ノ島, Torajima 虎島, and Kamijima 神島. Okinoshima, the largest island, occupies a strategic location guarding the entrance to Osaka Bay. During the Meiji period, observation posts and gun batteries were built on the island, and it was off limits to civilians until the end of the World War II. The fortress never fired its guns in anger and was dismantled after Japan's defeat, leaving only a network of trails between the ruins of the various military installations.

After the war, the islands were incorporated into the Setonaikai National Park (one of Japan's first national parks established in 1934). Okinoshima was developed as a resort by the Nankai Railways group, which ran a small *ryokan* and ferry service with the mainland. Visitors enjoyed sea bathing, fishing, and hiking. These were the days before ordinary Japanese citizens could travel overseas for leisure, and at its peak in 1964—the year in which postwar overseas leisure travel became possible—the island had 96,000 visitors a year (figure 9). The dramatic decline in visitor numbers that occurred between 1974 and 1976 coincides with the appreciation of the yen following the decision to let its value be determined in international currency markets, and therefore the greater affordability of overseas destinations. Thereafter, Okinoshima went into decline. In 2002, the year Nankai Railways pulled out of Okinoshima, visitor numbers were 16,526, under a fifth of the peak years. Today the abandoned huts and ryokan near the jetty remind visitors of this second chapter in Okinoshima's history, before the hike up to the summit takes them to the first chapter: the military installations.

34 Seaton et al. 2017.

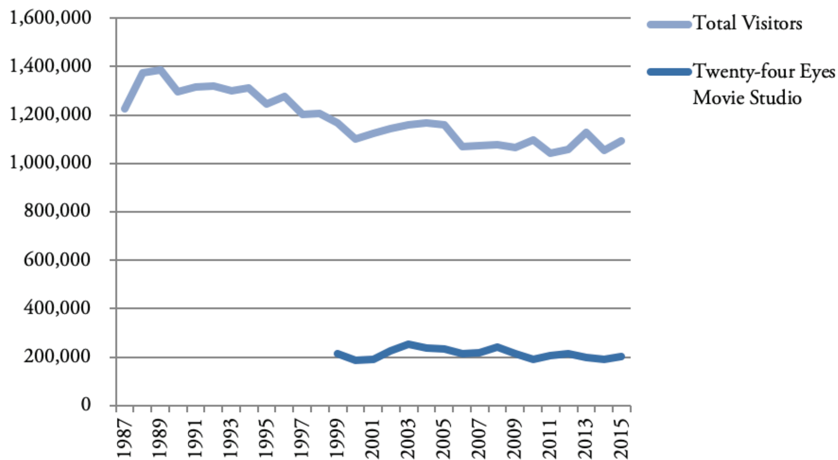

Figure 8. Total visitors to the main tourist sites in Shōdoshima (1987–2015) and the Twenty-four Eyes Movie Studio (1999–2015). Compiled by the author from multiple tourism reports available on the websites of Kagawa prefecture Tourism and Shikoku Transportation & Tourism Bureau.

Okinoshima's five decades as a small island resort were made possible by war. Until the Imperial Japanese Army turned the island into a fortress, Okinoshima was an uninhabited and largely unusable island, except for religious pilgrimage. It had insufficient open land and water supply to sustain civilian communities. However, the military prized Okinoshima's vantage points. It cut paths connecting the various gun batteries and observation points, and built port and jetty facilities to connect Okinoshima to the mainland. When the military vacated the island after the war, the tourism industry took over this infrastructure. The views prized in war by artillery spotters were enjoyed in peace by hikers. The ruins of the fortress themselves became an attraction, too, as a set of points to aim for on a hike around the island on the paths created by the military to connect the installations. At the highest point on the island, visitors today typically stop for a rest at the lookout point. They gaze out north over a spectacular 180 degree view from Awaji Island on their left (figure 10), across Osaka Bay towards Kobe and Osaka and the Kii Peninsula on their right.

In the decade following the closure of the Nankai Electric Railway resort, visitor numbers fluctuated in the 16,000 to 20,000 range. Then from 2012 to 2015 there was a remarkable and unexpected recovery to levels not seen since the early 1980s. The boom was triggered by contents tourism. Fans of director Miyazaki Hayao noticed similarities between the ruins on Okinoshima, particularly the ruins of the third battery (figure 11), and Laputa from *Tenkū no shiro Rapyuta*. The combination of the red brick arches, thick undergrowth, and ocean vistas made Okinoshima popular with people cosplaying as characters Pazu and Sheeta. Wakayama prefecture started promoting the island as a site of cosplay on its official tourism website, and even listed cosplay rules.[35] Cosplay as an activity is centered

35 Wakayama Prefectural Tourism Association website: https://www.wakayama-kanko.or.jp/marutabi/anime/osusume.html

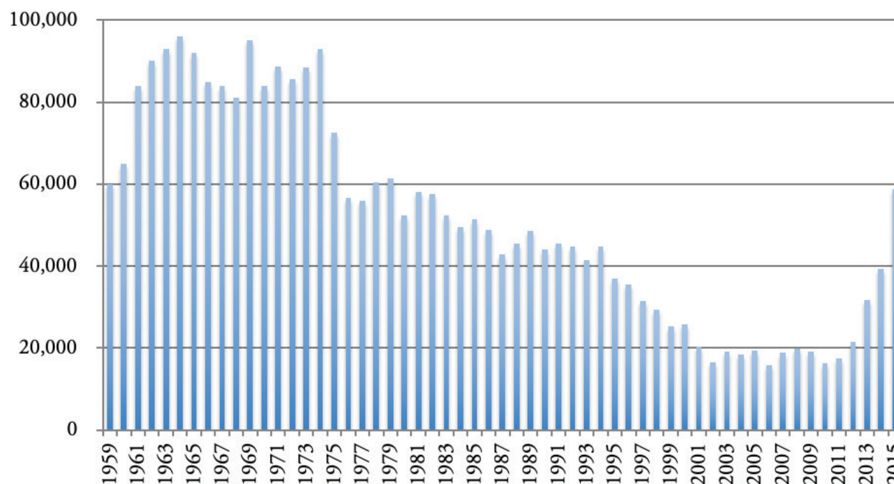

Figure 9. Visitors to Tomogashima, 1959–2015. Wakayama Prefectural Tourism Association.

around the taking and sharing of posed photographs. Cosplayers, therefore, seek out appropriate "stages," which both provide suitable backdrops for the scenes being recreated and (equally importantly) welcome people to cosplay there.[36] Okinoshima had an evocative "retro" atmosphere, and was isolated and spacious enough for cosplayers to indulge in their activities without inconveniencing others.

In reality, only a small proportion of the extra tourists during the boom were cosplayers, but many were fans of the anime. (On the sunny October day in 2016 when I visited, despite boatloads of visitors I did not see a single cosplayer.) The Tomogashima Kisen company, which runs the ferry service to the island, has a blog.[37] They publish photos from visitors, and a number of them mention Laputa as the reason they visited the island. Media attention about the contents tourism also generated a knock-on effect of broader media tourism. Tomogashima featured in local news and travel programs, which boosted visitation among people who were not fans or cosplayers.

The contents tourism boom is the third and current chapter in Okinoshima's history following its fortress and resort eras. Okinoshima defies categorization as a site of dark tourism: the fort never engaged in battle so it is simply a set of military ruins, not a site of death and suffering. It could count as a "dark" site in Jung-Sun Han's formulation of "dark heritage," in which "dark" refers both to a "heritage of resentment and shame" and to the dark (namely "unlit") underground tunnels of abandoned military installations that may still be visited today.[38] More appropriately, visitation to Okinoshima is war-related tourism with an important contents tourism element. In motivational terms, the war sites

36 Seaton et al. 2017, 56.
37 Tomogashima Kisen blog: http://tomogashimakisen.com/blog_tomogasima/.
38 Han 2017.

Figure 10. The view to Awaji Island from Okinoshima. The fort's guns protected this channel and the approach to Osaka Bay. Photograph by author.

Figure 11. The Third Gun Battery on Okinoshima. This has become a site of cosplay, particularly for fans of *Tenkū no shiro Rapyuta*. Photograph by author.

are probably of secondary importance: people go for the hiking rather than the heritage. But opening up the hiking trails, viewpoints, and islands to tourists was financially viable because the military had paid for the most expensive infrastructure during its development of the island as a fortress. And in the 2010s, visitation to Okinoshima has been given new meanings by anime fans, who see in Okinoshima's military-created landscapes a real-world equivalent of a fantasy location in an anime, thereby triggering new waves of tourism to this war-related site.

Ōzushima

The final two examples of war-related tourist sites are primarily sites commemorating Japanese navy personnel. The sites themselves, therefore, assume a more conservative or nationalistic tone.

On the island of Ōzushima in Yamaguchi prefecture there was a training base for *kaiten* 回天 submariners involved in *tokkō* (special attack, or kamikaze) operations. At first glance, this fourth case study again seems to fit the profile of a so-called "dark" site. A museum commemorating suicide attack submariners inevitably confronts the visitor with death. This confrontation is not graphic in the manner of the progressive Ōkunoshima Poison Gas Museum, with its pictures of corpses contorted in the agony of death by chemical weapons. Like other sites related to the kamikaze, such as those in Yūshūkan 遊就館 (Yasukuni Shrine's museum) and Chiran 知覧 (in southern Kyushu), visitors are encouraged to think of the fallen as noble, heroic individuals. Their names, photographs, and final letters home are on display alongside equipment, artifacts, panels outlining the history, and archival material. Visitors can look into the eyes of those who carried out suicide attacks and wonder what they thought as they went to certain death (figure 13). However, even as a site that forces all visitors to consider the meanings of these young men's deaths, the site defies easy categorization as dark or thanatouristic.

The Kaiten Kinenkan 回天記念館 (Kaiten Memorial Museum) on Ōzushima is run by the municipal government of Shūnan 周南. It opened in 1968, and the present building was opened in 1998. Its primary function is to be a quiet commemorative site to the 106 men who died and the 1,375 men who trained as *kaiten* pilots. While there has been touristification, there is little commercialization. The museum attracts around 15,000 visitors a year who pay a nominal fee of ¥300; children enter free. There is no gift shop and no restaurant. The museum is subsidized by public money in a conscious decision to preserve the contemplative atmosphere. The lack of commercialization means that the museum does not exhibit the "commodification" and "commercial ethic" that Lennon and Foley considered to be "critical features" of dark tourism.

However, visitation at the museum provides clear evidence of film-induced tourism. Figure 12 indicates a conspicuous spike in visitor numbers in 2006, the year *Deguchi no nai umi* was released. The film was based on the story of *kaiten* pilot Wada Minoru 和田稔, who died when his submarine sank during training.[39] His fate was confirmed when his submarine was washed ashore during a typhoon after Japan's surrender. The cinematic version contains scenes during which the *kaiten* pilots contemplate their impending deaths, and their despair

39 Some of Wada's writings are featured in *In the Faraway Mountains and Rivers*, a compilation of writings by University of Tokyo students drafted to fight after 1943. Quinn and Yamanouchi 2005.

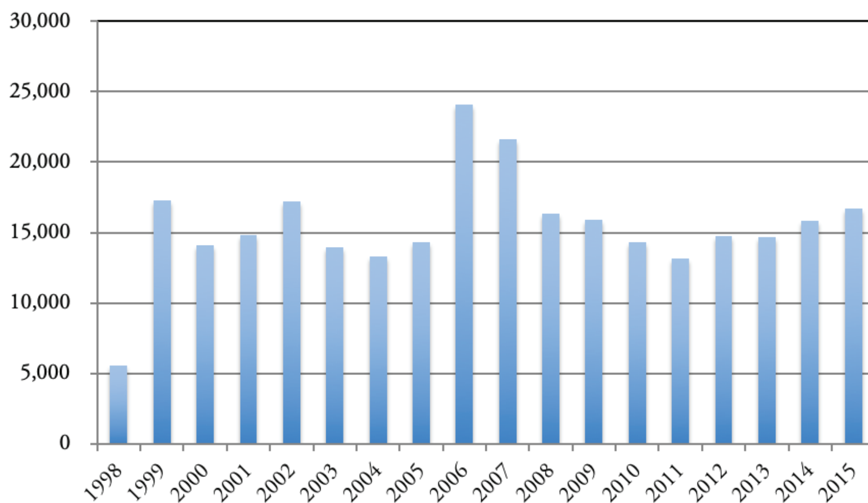

Figure 12. Visitor numbers to the Kaiten Memorial Museum. Kaiten Memorial Museum documents.

when missions are aborted because of technical failure. Namaki (the character based on Wada) is also a winning pitcher at the high school baseball championships, a fact which renders the pathos of his wasted life even more acute.

Compared to many other cinematic and museum depictions of the special attack operations, both *Deguchi no nai umi* and the Kaiten Kinenkan are more reflective regarding lives cut tragically short than laudatory of self-sacrifice for the nation. The film matches the atmosphere of the museum. This arose out of the island's collaboration in production. The final scenes were shot on the jetty from which training missions were launched; the reconstruction of a *kaiten* cockpit used during filming is on display in the museum (figure 13); and a life-size replica of a *kaiten* used during filming is displayed at the ferry terminal where visitors catch the boat to Ōzushima (figure 14).

The avoidance of jingoistic nationalism in favor of quiet dignified commemoration helps the town to embrace its *kaiten* history. On alighting from the ferry to the island, visitors are welcomed with a large sign saying "Welcome to Kaiten Island, Ōzushima" (*Yōkoso, kaiten no shima, Ōzushima e* ようこそ、回天の島、大津島へ). As with the town of Chiran, the island's identity is closely linked to its *tokkō* history.[40] To label the island a site of "dark tourism" would not necessarily be welcomed by islanders, and would run counter to the conservative narrative that sees the kamikaze as selfless young men who sacrificed themselves for their country. Quite apart from the potential backlash against being labeled "dark," for islanders their war heritage is an indispensable modern lifeline. While the museum needs support from the municipal government to survive, locals I spoke to commented that the museum's 15,000 visitors a year make an important contribution to the regularity and affordability of the ferry that connects the local population with the mainland. The island's population has fallen from a few thousand to a few hundred in

40 See the article by Fukuma Yoshiaki in this special.

Figure 13. Exhibits in the Kaiten Kinenkan. Photograph by author, used with permission.

Figure 14. The replica *kaiten* by the ferry terminal on the mainland. Photograph by author.

recent decades, and the remaining population is mostly of retirement age. Life on Ōzushima would be even more cut off without its wartime history.

In 2006, the *Deguchi no nai umi* boom boosted visitation by over 60 percent. Like many such booms, it was short-lived and afterwards visitor levels returned to their pre-boom levels. But from a contents tourism research perspective, this indicates why small islands such as Ōzushima are ideal case studies. On a small island with no other tourist sites (beyond fishing areas, local shrines, and a small campground), and with no other macro factors or trends that could explain such a marked spike in visitors in 2006, the evidence for the film being the cause of the boom, and thereby the existence of contents tourism, is clear.

Etajima

The final case study is Etajima, a city on Nōmishima island in Hiroshima prefecture. Its name is known nationwide as the site of Japan's Imperial Naval Academy (1888–1945) and Marine Self Defense Force Academy (1956–present). The academy provides guided tours for visitors, which includes entry to the Museum of Naval History (Kyōiku Sankō Kan 教育参考館).[41] This government-funded war museum provides primarily a military history up to the end of the World War II, including extensive exhibits on the navy's kamikaze operations. According to online sources, the museum has approximately 70,000 visitors per year.[42]

The exhibits present a patriotic eulogy to Japan's navy past and present. They are intended to instill pride in serving members of the Maritime Self Defense Force, and to inspire feelings of respect and thanks towards Japan's military among civilians. Such military museums, and this is not just the case in Japan, are by definition nationalistic. The "bright" exhibits in the Museum of Naval History—"bright" in the sense that they present an honorable, patriotic, and heroic version of Japanese naval history, albeit tempered by the "dark valley" of total defeat in 1945—are particularly suited to visitation by people whose motivation to visit war-related sites comes from the consumption of upbeat or moving war-related entertainment in which Japanese naval characters are the heroes. The use of the navy in popular entertainment, meanwhile, is helped by two factors: the reputation of the Imperial Japanese Navy as relatively chivalrous in combat in comparison to the atrocity-soaked image of the Japanese Imperial Army; and the technological appeal of naval weaponry that lends itself well to entertainment with a technophile element.

Etajima and the neighboring city of Kure 呉市 (on Honshū) have become "sacred sites" of naval contents tourism, along with other important naval bases like Yokosuka.[43] The academy in Etajima has been the setting or shooting location for numerous naval films and dramas—for example, our tour guide pointed out a corridor where scenes for the NHK drama *Saka no ue no kumo* 坂の上の雲 (*Clouds Above the Hill*; 2009–2011) were shot. In 2005, the Yamato Myūjiamu: Kure-shi Kaiji Rekishi Kagakukan 大和ミュージアム: 呉市海事歴史科学館 (Yamato Museum) opened, the same year as the blockbuster film *Otokotachi*

41 Kyōiku Sankō Kan 教育参考館 translates literally as "Education Reference Hall" in Japanese. The activities of the MSDF are the subject of a separate museum, the JMSDF Kure Museum: https://www.jmsdf-kure-museum.go.jp/en/.

42 Information about the Museum of Naval History can be found on the Dai 1 Jukka Gakkō 第1術科学校 website: http://www.mod.go.jp/msdf/onemss/about/facility/index.html.

43 See Sugawa-Shimada 2018. See Uesugi article on Maizuru for more on naval contents tourism.

no Yamato 男たちの大和 (*Yamato*) was released. Other sets of contents include *Kantai korekushon* 艦隊コレクション (Kantai Collection, also called *Kankore*; online game, anime, 2013–), and *Kono sekai no katasumi ni* この世界の片隅に (*In this Corner of the World*; manga, television drama, cinema anime, 2007–). In Kure and Etajima, military history and pop culture converge to create arguably Japan's greatest concentration of war-related contents tourism.

Etajima's naval heritage, therefore, has become the city's brand and prime tourism resource. In 2016, the Tourism Promotion Division of Etajima City ran a campaign that built on its military and pop culture connections. The *Heiki Sutoraiku* 兵姫ストライク (Heiki Strike) stamp rally invited visitors to collect images of characters called "weapon princesses" (figure 16) on their smart phones by pointing the camera at a color-coded matrix placed on bus stops or in buses (figure 17), which suggests that the aim was to encourage people to navigate around the island on public transport. There were stamps to collect near war-related sites, such as the naval academy and the Tone Memorial Museum (Gunkan Tone shiryōkan 軍艦利根資料館) (commemorating the heavy cruiser *Tone*, which was sunk while moored just off the island in July 1945), but most stamps were at ordinary bus stops. There were courses of varying lengths and people who completed the course could enter a prize draw. According to the Etajima Tourism Promotion Division, 855 people took part in the stamp rally and a participant survey indicated per capita spending of ¥1,400 on tourism (transport, entry fees, and so on). Participant numbers were lower than anticipated, but the campaign was considered a success because data gained from participants provided useful insights into visitors' movements, which will be used to improve future tourism campaigns.[44]

The use of characters and anime contents to promote war-related sites is an example of what might be called "lite tourism" at war-related sites. This is the realm of *kawaii* (cute) and *kakkoii* (cool), rather than *kurai* (dark). There are many philosophical, historical, and gender issues to debate regarding the use of sexualized and militarized female characters in anime, military recruitment, and tourism campaigns.[45] But militarized cute is a widespread genre with many sets of contents.[46] The genre's appeal goes beyond its obvious target of (male) anime fans and *gunji* 軍事 (military) otaku. For example, at pop culture events this author has seen women cosplaying as *kanmusu* 艦娘 (ship girls) from Kantai Collection. A further, often unmentioned, aspect of military pop culture is the extent to which it popularizes serious history. The *Nihon kaigun "Kankore" kōshiki sakusen kiroku* 日本海軍「艦これ」公式作戦記録 (Official Kankore Operations Guide), for example, pairs the ship girls from Kantai Collection with the real battle histories (including archive photographs and maps) of their wartime namesakes.[47]

The Heiki Strike campaign was an imitation of Kantai Collection. Etajima is a "sacred site" for Kantai Collection fans, but when contents reach the level of popularity achieved by

44 Etajima Tourism Promotion Division (江田島市観光振興課), by email, 25 January 2017.

45 These issues are beyond the scope of this article. See Frühstück 2007 for an introduction and Sugawa-Shimada 2018 for further examples.

46 Another well-known example is the 2012 anime, *Girls und Panzer* ガールズ＆パンツァー, which generated a war-related contents tourism boom in Ōarai-machi 大洗町, Ibaraki prefecture. See Yamamura 2017.

47 Kankore 2014. For further discussion of Kantai Collection-related contents tourism, including the utilization of war history, see Uesugi in this special.

Figure 15. Visitors taking the guided tour of the Etajima Naval Academy stop in front of the Red Brick Students' Hall, which has featured in many naval films, dramas, and anime. Photograph by author.

Kantai Collection, negotiating licenses, copyrights, and terms of use becomes big business. The City of Etajima also felt that they would retain more control over future commercial usage by commissioning their own set of characters. In this regard, Heiki Strike comes more within the scope of "character business" and "tourism promotion" than contents tourism, which, strictly speaking, is tourism generated as an unintended consequence of a creative work's popularity. However, the Heiki Strike campaign illustrates that war-related tourism in Japan's naval heartland is well into the fourth stage outlined at the beginning of this article. The stages of postwar commemorative travel and touristification (commercialization) are still in evidence, but new works of popular culture are now generating new meanings and travel motivations for visitors who have little personal connection to and/or prior interest in the wartime events depicted in the naval sites they visit.

Conclusions

This article has presented a critique of the concept of "dark tourism" via discussion of the term's adoption in Japan and its inappropriateness for the analysis of war-related tourism in the area of the Seto Inland Sea. Instead, the supply-side phenomenon of war-related tourism—tourism at a site related to the Asia-Pacific War—has been used in conjunction with three demand-side phenomena—thanatourism, heritage tourism, and contents tourism—to discuss examples in the Seto Inland Sea area. Small islands were chosen because they allow the clearest conclusions to be drawn between the release of mediatized works of entertainment and changes in visitation levels, and therefore offer the clearest picture of the nature and extent of contents tourism.

The case studies suggest that for contents tourism to exist at a sufficient volume to become visible in tourism statistics, it must be triggered either by "light/lite" works of entertainment (as seen at Etajima or Okinoshima) or moving works depicting Japanese victimhood (as seen on Shōdoshima or Ōzushima). The sites receiving visitors tend to be

Figure 16. Heiki Strike publicity materials at the Koyō 小用 ferry terminal, Etajima. Photograph by author.

Figure 17. The author captures a “weapon princess” (*heiki* 兵姫). Photograph by author.

either promoting nationalistic narratives of Japanese wartime conduct, or emotive sites commemorating Japanese victimhood and sacrifice. Both typically have only non-graphic representations of death and therefore fit poorly the profile of "dark tourism." By contrast, at the war-related site presenting harrowing images of death (the Poison Gas Museum), there is no evidence of thanatourism, and visitation is best categorized as cultural or heritage tourism (which can be further sub-categorized according to motivations as "purposeful," "sightseeing," and so on). On Ōkunoshima, despite a clear "media tourism" effect caused by the popularity of its rabbits on social media, there is no conclusive evidence of contents tourism, either.

On this evidence, ultimately heritage tourism rather than dark tourism remains the most useful lens through which to view and understand war-related tourism in Japan. Dark tourism as a field of inquiry has helped illuminate many issues within war-related tourism, but the term is unhelpful and in Japan there is little evidence of voyeuristic thanatourism at war-related sites. By contrast, the case studies indicate why tourism practitioners are increasingly looking towards contents tourism. There is significant statistical evidence in the case studies of the power of mediatized culture to generate temporary booms or even sustain demand at war-related sites. In this respect, the results of this study are compatible with other studies of war and contents tourism.[48] For example, this phenomenon is conspicuous at sites relating to the kamikaze in Kyushu, where contents tourism has emerged as a considerable factor since the 1990s.[49] As the war slips further into the past and the generations with personal experience of the war pass, we can expect the role of mediatized popular culture to play an ever greater role not only in the evolution of memories of the Asia-Pacific War, but also the nature and numbers of travel experiences at war-related sites.

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Afterword
Wartime, War-Related, and National Heritage Tourism in Japan: Where Do We Go From Here?

Kenneth RUOFF

This afterword discusses future avenues of research into war, tourism, and modern Japan. Suggestions for future research projects include wartime tourism by soldiers, a history of the Japan Tourist Bureau at the height of the empire of Japan, a trans-1945 study of the changing heritage landscape in "Japan," Confucian tourism in modern East Asia, and examples of tourism of resistance.

Keywords: Japan Tourist Bureau, empire of Japan, heritage landscape, Confucian tourism, tourism of resistance

Introduction

One must distinguish between the concepts of "wartime tourism" and "war-related tourism." In the case of Japan, wartime tourism largely refers to tourism between 1931 and 1945, during what has been termed the Asia-Pacific War or the Fifteen-Years War. Wartime tourism is leisure travel that takes place in wartime. Scholars tend to focus on how wartime tourism facilitated popular support for the conflict(s), but wartime tourism exists in various forms.

Before the Manchurian (Mukden) Incident of 1931, Japan fought in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and then the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Both of these conflicts left a legacy of sites that were incorporated into the expanded national heritage landscape. In fact, organized large-scale tourism by Japanese to the Asian continent dates from the period immediately following the victory over Russia. As early as 1906, state and non-state actors collaborated to send large groups of Japanese on tours to battle sites such as Port Arthur, that had been central to Japan's triumph. These post-Russo-Japanese War tours constitute war-related tourism.

Was tourism that reinforced the goals of Japan in the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War taking place in Japan proper (and possibly beyond Japan proper) contemporaneously with these two wars? If so, to the best of my knowledge these examples of wartime tourism have not been explored in depth. Japan was a minor participant in (but significant beneficiary from) World War I, and a major participant in the Siberian

Intervention (1918–1922). Here, too, if there is a story of wartime tourism, it has not yet been told in the scholarly literature.

But from 1931 until the juncture in the 1940s when the war situation turned so desperate as to curtail tourism—the month that this happened differed depending on the area of the empire, but it ranged between mid-1942 and early 1943—an ongoing mass tourism boom that began in the 1920s overlapped with a nation-state at war. Imperial Japan by the 1930s was an empire of mobility, even while at war. The conflicts lasted long enough for various agents to experiment at length with how to leverage tourism on behalf of the war effort. This makes this period particularly rich for the study of wartime tourism.

Since its surrender in August 1945, Japan has been at peace. Although Japan continues to host a number of U.S. military bases (with an especially heavy concentration in Okinawa), and has served as a staging ground for wars involving the United States during the postwar period, there are no examples of wartime tourism since 1945. But war-related tourism has been popular, and is the focus of some of the essays in this collection. And there are many fine examples of scholarship, including here, that examine both wartime and war-related tourism as they trace a topic over several decades. This special issue of *Japan Review* covers a lot of ground, both thematically and chronically, about wartime and war-related tourism and should be of interest not only to scholars of Japan, but also to scholars of tourism in general.

Where are fertile areas for additional research about wartime and war-related tourism, and about national heritage tourism, a form of self-administered citizenship training, in a more general sense? It is not easy to research and to write histories of the empire that elucidate the interplay between the mother country and the colonies. Indeed, to carry out such research, ideally one should be fluent in more languages than most people could master in a lifetime. The Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB) was one of the few organizations that had a true empire-wide presence.[1] The military was another and, although I will not delve into this issue in depth here, it is fair to say that we still do not have a comprehensive study of Japan's military personnel as tourists during the imperial era. Additionally, although not solely responsible for the development of what might be termed the cultural capital of tourism, the JTB from the time it was established in 1912 tended to be at the center of the evolution of this culture, and provides a useful window to study its empire-wide development.

An advertisement that the JTB published in the January 1940 issue of the tourism journal *Kankō tōa* 観光東亜 lists the JTB as operating, in addition to the main office in Tokyo and the eleven branch offices (three of which were outside of Japan proper, in Mukden (present-day Shenyang), Seoul, and Taipei), 137 "information offices" (*annaisho* 案内所) 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.[2]

A nuanced history of the JTB at the height of imperial Japan would allow someone to pursue a topic, in this case tourism, in a truly empire-wide fashion; it would promise in

1 The Japan Tourist Bureau underwent name changes, including during wartime, but for the purpose of this essay I refer to it throughout as the JTB.

2 Tōa Ryokōsha Manshū Shibu 1940.

other words an approach that avoids the island nation framework or, for that matter, the framework of studying the colonies independently from the mother country. Such a book-length project would almost surely provide numerous examples of the multi-directional interplay between the mother country and the colonies ("new territories") and between the colonies themselves. But it should not be a top-heavy organizational history. One would need to get down to the local level to document how the numerous JTB information offices worked with the diverse actors who constituted the "tourism world" in localities throughout the empire. There are various questions, some unpleasant by today's standards, that could be researched about imperial tourism. For example, some travel guidebooks from the imperial era recommended certain brothels over others. What was the role of the JTB and other agents in codifying which brothels were best suited for Japanese tourists and for what reasons (for example, standardized pricing)?

The JTB has already been featured in various histories of tourism in twentieth-century Japan—how could it not be? But there is no study of the JTB when its network extended to the farthest reaches of the empire. A comprehensive study of the JTB would be positioned to remedy the fact that, in comparison to work on Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan, not to mention Japan proper, there has been little written about tourism to the peripheries of the empire, about leisure travel to Karafuto and Nan'yō (Micronesia), for example.

But it is also important to remember that the imperial peripheries were not static. The territorial size of the empire of Japan increased dramatically from 1937 on, first as Japan encroached upon China, and thereafter as it claimed various Euro-American colonies as new territories, especially in Southeast Asia. The collapse of the empire of Japan only eight years later should not obscure the fact that even as Japan was at war with China and then with the United States and Britain, the JTB went to work with remarkable speed to promote tourism to newly incorporated areas of the empire. This rapidity of action may reflect the important role tourism had come to play in fostering among the citizenry an attachment to new territories. The wartime JTB continued to preserve and develop tourist sites (in part to make imperial Japan the "museum of Asiatic civilization") and to promote tourism, even as the empire teetered on the verge of collapse. What were these promoters of tourism thinking?

There are limits to how much one project can cover, but another issue would be the postcolonial legacies of the tourism infrastructure that Japan developed in the colonies. In this case I use the term "infrastructure" in the broadest sense to include cultural capital as well. A study revolving around the JTB would benefit from contextualizing the experience of imperial Japan in global history, a recommendation that applies to additional suggestions below for future areas of research. Furthermore, many aspects of tourism, certainly tourism promotion, tend to be visual. Studies of tourism should examine and introduce to readers these visual aspects, even in this era of penny-pinching in the publishing world.

There are fine essays in this collection that bridge the divide of 1945. A more ambitious project would be a comprehensive book-length study of national heritage tourism in Japan across the twentieth century. Perhaps such a project would have to be partially a work that synthesized existing scholarship even as it broke new ground. Such a study would show the evolution of tourism and also of national heritage sites in imperial Japan and postwar Japan, examining how much continuity and discontinuity there is between these eras.

There are still sites dating from imperial Japan, such as monuments commemorating Emperor Jimmu's eastward expedition, that drew droves of tourists during wartime but which attract almost no visitors today. But we know that once the postwar recovery took hold, the Japanese again engaged in mass national heritage tourism. It is important to stress that the war itself did not curtail leisure travel. The approximately decade-long hiatus (1943–early 1950s) in mass leisure travel by Japanese was the result, first, of the deterioration of the war situation (rather than the war itself), and, second, of the deprivation that continued into the early years of the postwar era.

How has the national heritage landscape, in other words the landscape of sites that define Japan's heritage, changed (or not changed) as the result of defeat in 1945 and also because of ongoing social change? We would no doubt find that certain master narratives (for example, "peace" for the postwar era) have been so pervasive that even the most incongruous of heritage sites, including the renamed "Peace Tower" in Miyazaki City that was built in wartime Japan and houses visually spectacular examples of the use of imperial myths to justify Japan's military expansionism, came to be draped in the postwar fabric of peace.[3]

The postwar rebranding of such preposterous examples of wartime propaganda, supposedly to symbolize peace, should remind us that where wartime tourism could be justified as dutiful consumption if it served to elevate national spirit or to cultivate physically fit citizens (by hiking, for example), it is also likely that various agents of the tourism world employed the nomenclature of the day simply to do what they really wanted to do, namely to promote travel. Anyone who studies wartime tourism in Japan should also introduce to readers contradictory messages, including even those being offered by officialdom, about tourism. Confusion was more the norm than was the sort of consistency that might have been the case if a master political-economic-social plan had in fact been in place, which it was not.

For example, *Shashin shūhō* 写真週報 was one of the most subscribed organs of government propaganda in wartime Japan. By 1940, certain issues of this magazine made it seem as though any Japanese who was consuming more than the bare essentials was unpatriotic. And yet at the same time one finds, for example, in the 21 February 1940 issue, an advertisement by the South Manchurian Railway Company urging Japanese to visit Manchuria to understand their country's "continental policy," in other words, to travel dutifully to the continent in order to understand their nation's imperial project—and maybe to play a few rounds of golf while there.[4]

There is little question that an account of transwar national heritage tourism would show that there has been significant change to the national heritage landscape beyond rebranding, and would need to take into account which sites have been popular and why. The national heritage landscape, after all, has evolved during the twentieth century to suit the changing national identity. Moving bodies around to scripted sites can be very useful in providing a sense of nation, or of an "imperial nation-state" for that matter, and Japan's experience in this area is broadly similar to many modern nation-states, particularly those that were also imperial powers. Such a study would have to trace first the expansion of the national heritage landscape beyond Japan proper during the imperial era followed by its

3 Special permission is required to enter inside the tower where the best visuals can be seen.
4 Jōhō Kyoku 1940.

abrupt shrinkage as a result of the loss of the empire, even as it traced how that landscape in Japan proper evolved over time.

Continuing with suggestions for broad, comprehensive projects in both topical and chronological senses, a transnational study of "Confucian tourism," namely tourism to sites related to the lengthy and complex heritage of Confucianism throughout East Asia, would provide a fascinating window into the intersection of Confucianism, the glue that traditionally made East Asia a shared cultural sphere, and modernity. Various agents in imperial Japan leveraged Confucianism in support of the imperial project. This leveraging extended to preserving and codifying key sites related to Confucianism throughout East Asia, and then promoting tourism to these sites. The take-home message from these sites, and the discourse invoking Confucianism in general, tended to justify various hierarchies at work in imperial Japan. The "proper place" of Japan and the Japanese was at the top.

The story of the intersection of Confucianism and modernity is not only transnational, but cuts across various turning points in East Asia (for example, 1945). Where imperial Japan left off, various other regimes took up. Park Chung-Hee's regime (1961–1979) sought to employ Confucianism, including Confucian tourism, to justify an authoritarian political and social order. After all, Koreans are wont to claim Korea as the most Confucian of all the East Asian countries. Confucianism has been fundamental to the polity of North Korea, a country flush with national heritage sites supportive of the regime.

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) initially pursued a negative stance in reference to Confucianism (a "bad old"), and many Confucian heritage sites were vandalized during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). In recent decades, however, the CCP has come to embrace, even trumpet, these same sites as well as Confucianism in general as fundamental to China's heritage, indeed, as defining the great civilizational legacy that China has bequeathed to the world. And how does this embracing of Confucianism work to define the proper place of the CCP in China's polity?

A study of the history of Confucian tourism in East Asia, which predates the modern era, might also serve as a correction to a tendency to apply in overly generous portions what typically tends to be Euro-American theory regarding tourism to the case of Japan. Is more theory always the answer to writing better history? I have my doubts. Of course, Japan was an imperial power, and most of the other modern imperial powers were Euro-American, although Thailand is an interesting exception. It is meaningful, in fact imperative, to compare the case of imperial Japan with other modern empires based on careful empirical research. But there are histories of tourism specific to East Asia, such as Confucian tourism, that deserve telling, and likely do not require the application of supposedly cutting-edge theoretical writings about Europe or the United States, which often are accompanied with gobs of jargon that negate the possibility of a wider audience taking an interest in the final product.

Historians are well aware that when it comes to all historical narratives, including those put forth at heritage sites, what is left out of the story is often as important if not more relevant than what is included. Examples from this collection of essays of "absences" from tourist sites include nostalgia for the Imperial Navy (for example, recipes said to have originated with the navy) in Maizuru—a navy separated from dying and killing—and memorialization of the kamikaze in Chiran in a way that conveniently avoids unpleasant

questions, for example what sort of top-down oppression led the pilots to "volunteer" for their suicide missions.

But there is another aspect to heritage tourism to which scholars must be sensitive, namely that at a macro level not everyone accepts the predominant narrative of the time, and at a micro level not everyone who visits a particular site accepts the message provided there, and in fact sometimes specifically rejects the message. The following might provide an avenue for a separate project, but at the very least it is a sub-theme about which all who write about national heritage tourism should be sensitive, namely what might be called "heritage tourism of resistance." An example of nonacceptance of the predominant narrative of the time would be colonial-era tourism by Koreans to sites meant to instill in them a pride in Korean heritage, precisely in opposition to the dominant emperor-centered heritage of imperial Japan.[5] There are likely other examples of heritage tourism of resistance within the empire of Japan.

Heritage tourism of resistance at the level of an individual site is evident in the critics of Yasukuni Shrine and of the Yūshūkan 遊就館 who lead tours of these sites specifically to educate participants about what is wrong with the "Yasukuni narrative of history." Similar examples of contemporary heritage tourism of resistance no doubt take place in reference to sites throughout East Asia—and the world for that matter—as visitors call into question site-specific narratives, be they of the right-wing, left-wing, conservative, or progressive variety.

The above suggestions are, needless to say, subjective recommendations by one scholar. No doubt there are other avenues for studying tourism, including new and creative approaches. I look forward to seeing the results.

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5 See McDonald's essay in this special issue.

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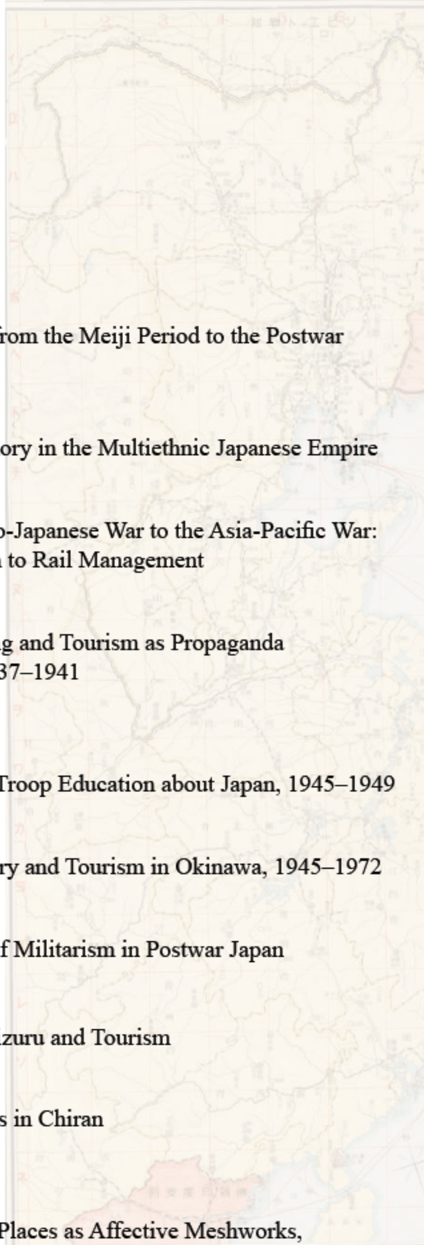

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